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VOL. XI, NO. 2

THE ART QUARTERLY

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*Fig. 1. Fifth Century A.D., Bodhisattva from Yün-kang
Los Angeles County Museum*

A BODHISATTVA FROM YÜN-KANG

By HENRY TRUBNER

THE invasion of Northern China by the Wei, or Toba Tartars, in 386 A.D. and the subsequent establishment of the Wei dynasty at Ta-t'ung-fu, in the northern part of the province of Shansi, was undoubtedly one of the most important events in the development of Buddhism and Buddhist art in China.¹ The religion of Sākyamuni appears to have reached China as early as the first century A.D. The famous episode of the dream of Emperor Ming of the statue of a golden man west of the Han Empire, is said to have taken place in 66 A.D. The embassy, which according to Chinese tradition set out in search of this miraculous image, reached India and the cities and places where the Buddha Sākyamuni had preached the Law, and finally returned to the land of Han with this golden image, which was, in fact, the statue of a Buddha.²

In its broader meaning, this legend would seem to imply that at this time the first Buddhist statues were imported from India to China to serve as models for the Chinese artists. However, on the basis of more reliable sources, such as the *Wei shu*, which was compiled in 554 A.D. and constitutes our chief source for the history of Buddhism in China, the first images were not imported until the second century A.D.³ And not until the fourth century were Buddhist images made in China in any appreciable number.

The first full florescence of Buddhism in China took place under the Northern Liang and Wei dynasties in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. The Liang controlled the region of the Tun-huang oasis, in the western part of the province of Kansu. The first of the Thousand Buddha Caves were hollowed out of the Tun-huang cliffs in 366 A.D. under the direction of a Buddhist monk named Lo-tsun. Shortly after the arrival of the Wei at Ta-t'ung-fu in 386 A.D., work was begun on the cave chapels at Yün-kang, situated about ten miles west of the Wei capital in the Wu Chou shan ridge. The work of hollowing out the caves and hewing Buddhist statues from the solid rock-walls apparently got under way about 414 or 415 A.D. and continued until about 520 or 524 A.D.⁴

Since the Wei were already familiar with Buddhism, and, moreover, feared the hostility of Confucianism and Taoism, the religions then prevalent in China, they adopted Buddhism as their official state religion. But the artists

and craftsmen who carried out the work at Yün-kang were surely Chinese, for the Wei, being wandering nomads, must have lacked great artistic skill. However, according to the inscriptions, which are few in number, many of the donors of the images must have been Wei Tartars.⁵

The spread of Buddhism under the Wei and the excavation of the cave chapels at Yün-kang went forward with such tremendous strides that eventually it met the fierce hostility of the Taoist priesthood, who feared that their power and influence with the court were being undermined. Finally, in 446 A.D., Ts'ui Hao, a Taoist adviser to the emperor, prevailed upon the latter to issue an imperial decree, thereby setting in motion the most serious persecution of Buddhism and the destruction of virtually every monument raised to the glory of Sākyamuni. The *Wei shu* gives us the following account of the imperial edict:

We, receiving the succession from heaven, have undergone the humiliation of the present wretched fortune. We want to sweep aside the false and establish the true, and restore the government of Fu-hsi and Shen-nung. Therefore let us destroy the foreign gods and exterminate all traces of them, in hope of not proving inferior to the Fengs.

From this day onward, whoever presumes to worship foreign gods and make images either of clay or of bronze will be put to death with his whole household. . . . Let those in charge issue a proclamation to the generals, the armies, and the governors, that all stupas, paintings and foreign sutras are to be beaten down and burned utterly; the 'sramanas without distinction of age, are to be destroyed.⁶

Although most of the Buddhist priests escaped the fury of the Taoists by fleeing south, the great Buddhist monuments raised in the cave chapels at Yün-kang did not fare so well. It is virtually impossible to ascribe to any of the extant Buddhist sculptures from Yün-kang a date preceding the years of the Buddhist persecution from 446 to 452 A.D. It is a generally accepted theory that none of the early Yün-kang sculpture survived the destruction of Buddhist monuments following the imperial proclamation.

The Oriental collection of the Los Angeles County Museum has recently been enriched by the gift of a statue of a Bodhisattva from Yün-kang (Fig. 1). This beautiful Yün-kang figure occupies a foremost place among early Chinese Buddhist sculptures in American collections. The statue measures 59 inches in height (without base) and is carved in the typical soft, brown-gray sandstone of Yün-kang. It is strictly frontal in conception, the middle of the face and body being on a straight perpendicular line. The Bodhisattva

carries a lotus in the right hand and part of a broken-off flask in the left.

A most unusual and extremely interesting feature of the Museum's Bodhisattva is the zigzag pattern behind the head. This is a primitive rendering of folds of cloth, formed by a kind of cap under the crown which falls over the back of the head, producing folds on either side. This method of indicating drapery or folded cloth may be seen many centuries earlier in India, as, for instance, on the famous statue of a Yakṣa from Pārkhām now in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 6).

On this Indian figure, which dates from the latter part of the third century B.C., we see a similar zigzag pattern of incised lines, employed as a means of rendering the drapery folds between the legs. The Yakṣa from Pārkhām and the Museum's figure of a Bodhisattva were clearly not influenced by each other. Parallel means employed by the artist of either statue to suggest folded cloth may be considered in each instance part of a universal method adhered to by all primitive peoples to render in terms of stone, folds of drapery or cloth.

The Museum's Bodhisattva is naked to the waist, the upper part of the body being covered only by the cusped necklace. The latter is ordinarily found on statues of Bodhisattvas from the Northern Wei period and may actually have been worn by the people of that era. The Bodhisattva's hair falls down behind the ears and over the shoulders, to end in three spearlike projections on the upper arm (Fig. 3). The semi-circular sections, which join the lobes of the ears to the cusped necklace, must be considered as earrings. A very similar arrangement of earrings and hair may be seen on one of the attendant Bodhisattvas in Cave III at Yün-kang (Fig. 9).⁷

Over each shoulder of the Museum's figure falls a scarf which follows the outline of the upper arm in a wide arc, crosses the forearm and then forms another arc outside each leg.⁸ The Bodhisattva wears a girdle around the waist. A skirt covers the lower part of the body and is simply rendered by means of incised lines between the legs. A larger fold, again with incised lines, branches out from the lower part of the right leg. The right kneecap is indicated quite prominently, probably part of the general importation of Indian and Central Asian elements into the Buddhist art of fifth and sixth century China. Many of the statues along the trade route through Central Asia show a very pronounced emphasis placed on the kneecap.⁹

The flowing scarfs, which envelop the body of the Museum's figure, represent likewise a carrying over of Central Asian motifs into early Chinese Buddhist sculpture. A Chinese gilt-bronze figure of a Kuan Yin or Bodhisattva

of Mercy, dated 453 A.D. in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D. C., has a very similar arrangement of scarfs, though more agitated, and giving the effect of being blown by a violent wind (Fig. 5).

The general arrangement of the scarfs in the Museum's figure and the gilt-bronze statuette in the Freer Gallery is governed by the same stylistic prototypes. It recalls the statues with fluttering scarfs as well as wall paintings in the Buddhist cave chapels at Tun-huang and even further west, on the trade-route which led through Central Asia by way of the important Buddhist centers of Kucha and Kyzil to Afghanistan, Persia and India. Ludwig Bachhofer states that the feature of the fluttering scarfs enveloping the shoulders and arms is particularly characteristic of the Kucha region. He adds further that there cannot be any doubt that this mode of representation traveled eastward from Kucha to Tun-huang and Yün-kang.¹⁰

The fact that we find the influence of Central Asian art motifs in the Museum's figure is not surprising. It is generally agreed that the early Buddhist sculpture of China, that is to say the work carried on at Yün-kang, received its first aesthetic impulse and stylistic direction from Tun-huang, which in turn was under the influence of the school of Mathura in India, and the art of Central Asia.

At the time of the conquest of the Liang country in 439 A.D., more than thirty thousand families are said to have been moved from the Tun-huang oasis to the Wei capital at Ta-t'ung-fu.¹¹ The *Wei shu* reports these events as follows:

The land of Tun-huang from its contacts with the religious and laity of Western countries, obtained their old models and the villages all alike had many stupas and monasteries. When in the period of T'ai-yen (435-40) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and the Buddhist paraphernalia all came East.¹²

Two important styles prevailed at Yün-kang. The first style, which is also chronologically the earlier of the two, is not at all Chinese in feeling but is characterized by strong Central Asian and Indian traits. A very good example of this style is the colossal Amitābha in Cave XXII (Fig. 10). It shows a pronounced interest on the part of the artist to express the roundness and massiveness of the figure, a characteristic which can be traced back to Central Asia and Afghanistan. The method of draping the shoulders, namely, to cover the left shoulder entirely and leave the right as well as part of the chest partially bare, likewise derives from Central Asia. The jagged fork-folds on the left



Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1



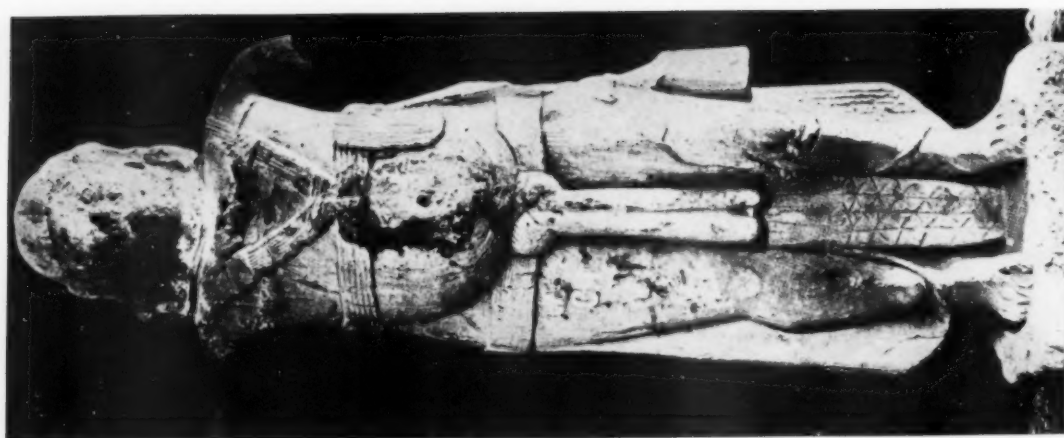
Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1



*Fig. 4. Fifth Century A.D.,
Bodhisattva from Yün-kang
New York, Metropolitan Museum
of Art*



*Fig. 5. CHINESE, 453 A.D., Kuan Yin Padmapani
Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art*



*Fig. 6. Latter part of Third Century
B.C., Yakṣa from Parkham
Mathura Museum*

sleeve can also be traced to the Buddhist art of Central Asia and Gandhara. Nowhere in the entire figure can one detect the peculiar love of the Chinese artist for sinuous curves and a powerful linear rhythm. The figure impresses us with its blocklike character and great massiveness rather than its spiritual content.

The second Yün-kang style is dominated by the desire of the Chinese artist to express himself in terms of linear movement and abstract pattern. It may be illustrated by two Buddhas in a shrine near Cave XVI at Yün-kang (Fig. 8). A strong emphasis is now placed on the movement of the lines in terms of flowing drapery folds. The heads have lost the round, blocklike mass and solidity of the Amitābha in Cave XXII, and have become elongated and reduced to a series of angular planes, which endow them with a strong abstract feeling, fully in accord with the aesthetic ideals of the Chinese. Attention is called, in particular, to the sharp angle where the temples meet the forehead, foreshadowing the abstract angular heads of the early caves at Lung-mên.

The first, or Central Asian style, is gradually absorbed in the Chinese feeling for linear rhythm and sharp angular planes. The two styles continued side by side until about the end of the fifth century, but the more linear, abstract style gradually becomes more dominant and leads directly to the early work in the caves at Lung-mên, probably begun shortly before removal of the Wei capital from Ta-t'ung-fu to Loyang in 494 A.D.

The Museum's figure conforms at least in part to the Central Asian style then prevalent at Yün-kang and derives in its conception from the monuments found along the trade route through Central Asia. The head, though perhaps not as massive as that of the Yün-kang Colossus in Cave XXII, nevertheless retains the roundness and fullness of the Central Asian Buddha types (Fig. 2). The eyebrows form a sharp angle where they meet the bridge of the nose, a feature also found in the large Amitābha and originating in the style of the trade route. Nevertheless, the incised lines of the eyebrows of the Museum's figure express already some of the sharp, springlike tension which came to dominate the more typically Chinese style. The small mouth, with its upturned lips, has an archaic smile which characterizes so many of the Northern Wei Buddhist figures and is again a Chinese rather than Central Asian feature.

In some respects the head of the Museum's figure differs sharply from the head of a Bodhisattva from Yün-kang in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 7). The latter expresses the delight of the Chinese artist in the movement of the line and in flat, angular, and abstract planes. The head in the Metropolitan

Museum, by comparison with that of the Museum's figure, has flattened out and lost the latter's pudgy character. It has also become more elongated and angular, the line of the forehead forming one plane and the temples another. The nose, too, has become more angular, with a sharp ridge running down the middle and continuing the tense, springing arc of the eyebrows. The sharp angle at the juncture of the eyebrows and the bridge of the nose visible in the Museum's figure has developed into a tensile curve. The eyes are more elongated and closed, producing the effect of a strong linear movement.

This comparison supports the theory of the writer that the style of the Museum's figure adheres mainly to artistic motifs deriving from Central Asia and Afghanistan, imported to China by way of Tun-huang, where this style underwent its first modification. The Museum's figure does not conform to the Chinese aesthetic ideals governed by the play of lines and movement of planes. These ideals, however, prevailed eventually and absorbed the foreign elements, molding them into a purely Chinese formula. The latter is illustrated by the two Buddhas near Cave XVI at Yün-kang, the head of a Bodhisattva in the Metropolitan Museum, and the early work at Lung-mên.

Nevertheless, some of the characteristics which became very pronounced in the mature Northern Wei style are already foreshadowed in the Museum's figure, as for instance, the tensile curve of the eyebrows, the archaic smile, and the wedge-shaped neck. In other words, the Museum's figure occupies a position approximately halfway between the early Yün-kang style which derives from Central Asia and the more developed Northern Wei style which has absorbed the foreign elements and cast them into a Chinese pattern.

The naked upper body and the tight-fitting drapery over the lower half of the Museum's figure, giving the impression of an entirely naked figure were it not for a few incised lines suggesting drapery folds, can be traced to Indian ideals.¹³ The clinging drapery which makes the body appear nude is also found in the sculpture of the Mathura and Sarnath schools.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York owns a statue of a Bodhisattva from Yün-kang which is so similar to the figure in the Los Angeles County Museum that it should be considered a companion piece to the latter (Fig. 4).¹⁴ The same features which characterize the Los Angeles Museum's Bodhisattva occur also, with only minor variations, on the Metropolitan Museum's figure.

Of particular interest in both statues is the unusual headdress, which falls in zigzag folds over the back of the head and nape of the neck. The crown,

jewels hanging from the lobes of the ears, dress, and pose are also very similar.

The head of the Metropolitan Museum's Bodhisattva appears to have been worked over and freshened about the face.¹⁵ The head of the Los Angeles Museum's Bodhisattva, on the other hand, is intact. The stylistic treatment of the two heads however is the same.

Each Bodhisattva holds a lotus in the right hand, and, as we have seen, the Museum's figure also carries a flask in the extended left hand. The Bodhisattva in the Metropolitan Museum, by contrast, does not carry a flask but appears to be holding on to his skirt or to the end of a scarf descending from the left shoulder, similar to the arrangement on the Kuan Yin in the Freer Gallery.

In all likelihood the Museum's statue represents the Bodhisattva Kuan Yin as Padmapāni or lotus bearer. However, the miniature figure of Kuan Yin's spiritual father, the Buddha Amitābha, usually revealed in the crown of Kuan Yin, is lacking in this instance. The possibility exists, therefore, that this figure does not represent Kuan Yin but rather one of the other Bodhisattvas, possibly Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future.

The name of Avalokiteśvara or Kuan Yin has been described in many different words. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or Lotus Sutra speaks of him as follows:

Think, o think, with tranquil mood of Avalokitesvara, that pure being, he is a protector, a refuge, a recourse in death, disaster and calamity. He who possesses the perfection of all virtues, and beholds all beings with compassion and benevolence, he, an ocean of virtues, Virtue itself, he, Avalokitesvara, is worthy of admiration. He, so compassionate for the world, shall once become a Buddha, destroying all dangers and sorrows; I humbly bow to Avalokitesvara.¹⁶

The statue in the Metropolitan Museum may likewise represent Kuan Yin, but because it does not carry a flask, often a sign of Kuan Yin, particularly when shown together with the lotus, the figure may again represent one of the other Bodhisattvas, such as Maitreya. One should, however, bear in mind that the artists of the Yün-kang and early Lung-mên grottoes did not always pay strict attention to iconographical details. A figure with the attributes of Kuan Yin may, in the inscription, be referred to as Maitreya. In other words, the distinctive marks of Kuan Yin, Maitreya or other figures of the Buddhist pantheon were often confused in the early Buddhist art of China.

For the greater part, the iconography of the images in the Yün-kang caves

was taken from the *Saddharmapundarika* or Lotus Sutra, in which the Buddhas Sākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna, and the Bodhisattvas Kuan Yin and Maitreya figured most prominently. The artists engaged in the work of the Yün-kang caves were thus most familiar with these four divinities. Indications are that the Museum's figure and the one in the Metropolitan Museum are representations of Kuan Yin, or possibly Maitreya.

The suggestion has been offered that the Bodhisattva in the Metropolitan Museum might be a rare survival from the years preceding the Buddhist persecutions of the years 446-452, at which time most of the then existing Yün-kang sculpture is believed to have been destroyed.¹⁷ If this be the case, it would also hold true of the Museum's figure, for these two statues, if not actually from the same cave, must stem from the same group of caves. In favor of this theory one might cite the fact that no other figures exactly like those in the Los Angeles Museum and in the Metropolitan Museum have been discovered.

Lacking sufficient evidence, however, to prove that any monumental sculpture survived the Buddhist persecutions of the years 446-452, we must, for the present, assume that these Bodhisattvas date from the second half of the fifth century. Five grottoes, each of which was to contain a colossal Buddha, were begun in 454 A.D. at the command of Emperor Wên Ch'êng. The five huge Buddhas were carved under the direction of the priest T'an Yao. The work was to be a memorial to the founder of the Wei dynasty, but may also be considered an effort on the part of the Emperor to atone for the destruction of the Buddhist monuments during the persecutions of the middle of the century.¹⁸ This great flourish of activity seems to have reached its climax near the end of the fifth century under the reign of Emperor Hsiao Wên Ti (471-499). It appears evident that under the latter's rule the five colossal Buddhist figures were completed.¹⁹

The latter half of the fifth century, particularly the reign of Emperor Hsiao Wên Ti, was a period of great artistic activity and enthusiasm. Hundreds of Buddhist statues were carved from the walls of the Yün-kang grottoes during those years. It seems plausible that, in this period, the Bodhisattvas in the Los Angeles Museum and in the Metropolitan Museum were also created.

It is established that in 494 the Wei capital was moved from Ta-t'ung-fu to Loyang, in Honan province. Further artistic endeavors were immediately directed toward the hollowing out of the Buddhist cave chapels at Lung-mên leading to a halt of the activities at Yün-kang. As stated before, the Yün-kang



*Fig. 7. Fifth Century A.D., Head of a
Bodhisattva from Yün-kang
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



Fig. 8. Fifth Century A. D., Shrine with Two Buddhas, Yün-kang, near Cave XVI



*Fig. 9. Sui Dynasty (589-618 A.D.),
Attendant Bodhisattva, Yün-kang, Cave III*



Fig. 10. Fifth Century A.D., Amitabha, Yün-kang, Cave XXII

caves were completely abandoned about 520-524. The year 494 may therefore be taken as a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the Bodhisattvas in the Los Angeles and Metropolitan Museums.

¹ The Wei, or Toba Tartars, were nomads of Tungusic stock who came originally from Mongolia or the region of Lake Baikal in Southern Russia.

² H. Maspero, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, X, 95-130.

³ Benjamin Rowland, Jr., "Notes on the Dated Statues of the Northern Wei Dynasty and the Beginnings of Buddhist Sculpture in China," *Art Bulletin*, March, 1937, p. 93.

⁴ E. Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, Paris, 1909-15, I, 299.

⁵ Ludwig Bachhofer, "Die Anfänge der Buddhistischen Plastik in China," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F. 10, 3-4, p. 108.

⁶ *Wei shu*, translated by J. Ware in T'oung Pao, Paris, 1933, pp. 141-142.

⁷ The attendant Bodhisattva in cave III is of a later date than the Museum's but interesting because of identical pose and apparently similar iconography.

⁸ On the figure's left, the lower portion of the scarf is no longer visible as a result of the close cutting when the figure was removed from the rock.

⁹ Rowland, *op. cit.*, fig. 3. Buddhist reliefs from Kara Shahr, Ming-oi site.

¹⁰ Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹¹ Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bukkyo shiseki*, Tokyo, 1930, II, 22.

¹² *Wei shu*, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

¹³ Cf. Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁴ The Bodhisattva in the Metropolitan Museum is carved in the soft Yün-kang sandstone. It measures 60 inches in height, compared to 59 inches in the case of the Museum's figure.

¹⁵ Alan Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1944, p. 23, no. 8.

¹⁶ H. Kern, *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1884, XXI, 416-417.

¹⁷ Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 23, no. 8.

¹⁸ Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

HELLENISTIC AND COPTIC TEXTILES

By ADELE COULIN WEIBEL

THE earliest wool tapestries, according to literary tradition, were the Babylonian hangings which are often mentioned as having belonged to queen Semiramis. For such tapestries enormous sums were paid by the leaders of society of the early Roman Empire, sums that can well be compared with those paid today for Gothic tapestries of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest preserved fragments of wool tapestry on linen warps were woven in Syria in the Hellenistic period. At least three such fragments are known today. From a tomb at Kertch in Crimea, of the third century B.C., comes the earliest of these; it shows rows of ducks swimming in "the purple sea." An almost three-dimensional effect is obtained by subtle graduation of colors.¹ Similar effects, obtained by almost imperceptible shading, are found again in a large panel, tapestry woven throughout, covered with fishes of diverse kinds swimming to and fro and even casting their shadows on the greenish water.² That the Syrian weavers even attempted the rendering of large pictorial compositions is proved by the survival of one fragment which shows the half life-size head of a woman, owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 1).³

The woman's head is shown in practically frontal view, turned almost imperceptibly towards the right shoulder. This very slight turn receives a sharp accent by the deep-set golden-brown eyes, half veiled by heavy lids, turned to the extreme angle. The finely designed nose, the slightly open mouth, the shapely full chin, the wide low brow, all contribute to give to the picture the character of a portrait. The hair, chestnut with reddish lights, is parted in the center and arranged in a series of wavy locks covering the ears and forming a loop of the Apollo Belvedere type. A golden taenia set with a large red stone and a simple earring with two pearls pendent bear out the general impression of fastidious moderation, a subtlety observed also in the simplicity of the dress, of which only one shoulder strap is preserved. The round nimbus marks the portrait as of the idealized rather than realistic type.

The modeling is achieved by imperceptible grades of shading, a perfect illustration of the old Roman term *acu pingere* with the reservation that it is not "needle-painting" but "loom-painting," a woven picture. The delicate violet and pinkish-purple accents around the neck and nose become more pronounced on the eyelids and, with the straight line of the lashes, give the portrait a tragic,

almost sinister character. Our fancy strays to famous unhappy, rather wicked great women known to history and legend, but we need not feel bound to attach any special name to the portrait. Both technical and aesthetic reasons force us to place this fragment very early, in the second or third century, possibly even earlier. For a very early date speak also the refinement of almost impressionistic indetermination, a hankering towards Scopasian expression, the feeling of *Weltschmerz*, so characteristic of the late Hellenistic period.

Fabrics of such surpassing quality are always exceptional; but the tradition of shading from one color to another survived in Syria. Simple bands of two-shaded colors have been found at Palmyra⁴ and Dura-Europos.⁵

In Egypt the weaving of wool tapestry for ornaments into linen fabrics began with the Hellenistic period and continued through the centuries of the Roman overlordship. The first style was purely linear and monochrome and, at its best, represents well the taste prevalent in the cities of the littoral. When such designs were copied in provincial workshops, they became coarse and static. The Egyptian hinterland, in time, worked out its own style; the textiles belong to the most interesting remains of early Christian art. Due to the special climatic conditions prevailing in Egypt, and to the custom of burying the defunct dressed as he was in life, large numbers have been preserved.⁶ Among the chief sites of burial are Akhmim, Antinoe, Bawit and the Fayyum, but many of the finest specimens preserved are without benefit of pedigree; the shallow graves have been all too long the happy hunting grounds of the local population. The present day name of these fabrics, "Coptic," refers them to the Copts. This name is a medieval European form of the Arab *kubt*, which is derived from the Greek *aiguptioi*, Egyptians; it was used especially to designate the native Christian population. Even today the Copts are racially the purest representatives of the ancient stock of Egypt. According to tradition Christianity was brought to Egypt by St. Mark the Evangelist, who preached the gospel in Alexandria about A.D. 59. The new creed spread rapidly, its doctrine of life after death was naturally congenial to the Egyptians and it appealed especially to the oppressed lower orders.

One result of Christianity was the institution of a severe form of monachism. Best known among the founders of monastic institutions are St. Anthony whose fame attracted thousands to a life of austere meditation; St. Pachomius who demanded of his disciples manual labor joined to spiritual contemplation, and St. Shenute, the fiery organizer of the national Church. The monasteries were refuges for the harassed and persecuted; their strength made them face both

the pagan landowners and the barbarian hordes of raiders. They were the centers of united action and supported within their walls agriculture and trade, the crafts and education. Here the Holy Scriptures were translated into the Coptic dialects; Coptic inscriptions sometimes occur on textiles, many of which must have been woven by the monks and nuns. The Copts were Monophysites, believing that Christ is of one nature only. They remembered the great persecution of A.D. 304 by their "Era of Martyrs" which begins with the year 284, the date of Diocletian's accession to the throne of the Roman Empire. In the reign of Justinian (527-565) the Copts split up into Melkites or royalists and Jacobites, nationalists. Their quarrels were instrumental to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in 641. The Coptic craftsmen continued working for their new lords. They still wove polychrome tapestry borders into linen fabrics, but the beautifully tinted wool was gradually superseded by silk and the patterns lost their dynamic strength.

The best Coptic textiles were woven during the fourth and fifth centuries, when Christianity had become the official creed of the empire, and the peace of the Church was not yet disturbed by the quarrels of the royalist and nationalist ecclesiastical parties. As in Graeco-Roman times, the garments worn by both men and women were still adorned with bands and separate motives of tapestry; but now these often lacked the subtle moderation of the earlier period. A rich polychromy prevailed. The Copts were master dyers; in their best tapestries the colors are simple and strong, set side by side like the cubes of a mosaic without the slightest attempt at perspective. Contrary to the littoral art of the great Hellenistic centers, Coptic art is the manifestation of the people, of the Hinterland.

Figured tapestries were used also for shrouds. Both St. Basil (c. 330-379) and St. Ambrose (c. 340-397) frown upon such wasteful misuse,⁷ while other dignitaries of the Church, such as Asterius, bishop of Amaseia (d. c. 410), censure the frivolous people "who bear the gospels on their mantles instead of in their hearts" and "look like painted walls."⁸ However, when beautiful textiles were used for the adornment of churches, the authors do not stint their praise. The mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and San Vitale, in Ravenna, show diverse modes of hanging large panels, in doorways and between columns. In early Christian and Byzantine book illustrations curtains are shown hanging from the ciborium on all four sides of the altar. They are relatively small and do not hide the altar, but are purely decorative like the votive crowns which also were hung from the entablature of the ciborium.⁹ Larger curtains,



*Fig. 1. Syria, 1st-3rd Century, possibly earlier, A Woman's Head
Detroit Institute of Arts*



*Fig. 2. Coptic, second quarter 4th Century. Bust Portrait of a Man
Detroit Institute of Arts*

hung in front of the altar, served to separate the space reserved for the clergy from the main part of the church.¹⁰ Their use is attested by St. John Chrysostomus and St. Gregory Nazianzen for the fourth century, by Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and others for the fifth. For the sixth century the description by Paul the Silentiary of a silk curtain with figures of Christ, St. Peter and St. Paul standing beneath arches is preserved; this altar curtain was a gift of Justinian to the great church of Sancta Sophia in Constantinople.¹¹ For the seventh to ninth century the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Book of the Popes, is the most comprehensive source.¹² The lists of papal donations to diverse churches often enumerate curtains or hangings, of silk for the great festivals, of linen for everyday use.

Few shrouds and no complete curtains have been preserved; even representative fragments are rare, especially specimens with figural representations. The Detroit Institute of Arts has recently acquired two outstanding examples of the Coptic weaver's art, both as gifts of the Founders Society.

One of these¹³ (Fig. 2) is a tapestry woven panel showing the slightly less than life-size bust portrait of a man. He is dressed in a white tunic with dark blue clavi, of the severe type of *tunica angusticlavia*; a pallium of palest pink hangs over his shoulders. A napkin with red and blue stripes covers the hands which hold a book with a red cover and jeweled ornaments. The portrait is severely frontal, the head turned slightly to the left, but the eyes looking straight at the beholder. The pale face is framed by dark hair and a short round, slightly curled beard, joined to narrow moustaches. The enormous eyes with arched brows, the long narrow nose and the pinched mouth give to the face an austere expression, while the nimbus is the mark of a saintly personage. This striking portrait stands out from a background of old rose and is contained within an oval frame, like the rim of pale gold of an enameled medallion. This rests on a ground of dark blue, with lotus blossoms of white and green in the corner spandrils.

Quite obviously it is the portrait of a once well-known personality, although we are not able to give it a name. Yet at least we can date it fairly closely. In the Roman period the elaborate embalming methods of Pharaonic Egypt were discontinued. Now the dead body was strewn with granular natron, traces of which are often preserved. It was then dressed in the garments which it had worn in daily life, tied to a board of sycamore wood and wrapped in shrouds, *pallia mortuorum*. In the case of burial of important persons these shrouds are often adorned with large medallions of tapestry work. The center of the

shrouds is often found destroyed by the pressure of the bandages tying it to the body, while the corner medallions are apt to be preserved. Over the dead face there was often placed the portrait of the defunct person, painted on a slab of wood in encaustic or tempera. A comparison with such painted portraits permits dating the tapestry portrait to the second quarter of the fourth century.¹⁴ This date is supported by the evidence of the coins with portraits of the sons of Constantine and, in monumental sculpture, by the Berlin fragment of a sarcophagus with Christ and Apostles.¹⁵

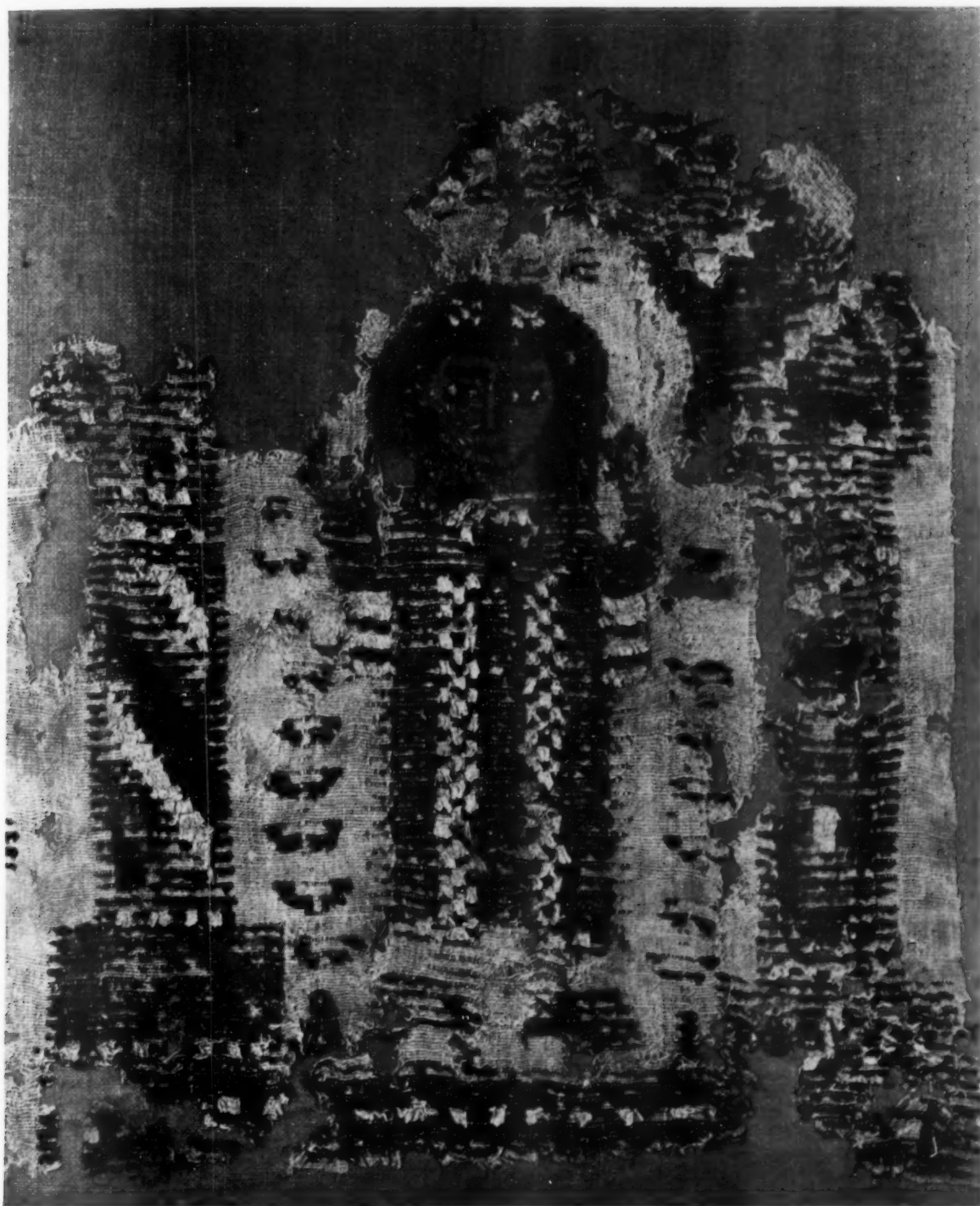
What was the original place of this remarkable medallion? It is too large to have been part of the decoration of a garment such as the "pictured tunic" which the emperor Gratian sent, in 379, to his former tutor, the poet Ausonius, on his accession to the consulship.¹⁶ It seems almost too important to have been a corner ornament of a shroud. Probably it belonged to the elaborate decoration of a hanging or curtain. As on the hanging in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, it may have been the crowning feature over a column.¹⁷ Or it may have occupied the center, perhaps as part of a group of such portraits, as suggested by a hanging in the Coptic Museum at Cairo. Here four separate heads of young women, each in its own rectangular space, are contained within a frame work of *gammadiae* between borders of conventional tendrils.¹⁸

Curtains and hanging sometimes show the design raised over the linen ground in a shaggy cut pile. This is achieved by brocading the pile wefts in between the selvage to selvage wefts. This is the technique used so successfully on the large fragment of a curtain (Fig. 3).¹⁹ Between the columns of an arcade stands a young woman, almost a child, in the attitude of prayer. Thoughtfully she looks at the beholder, her hands are raised, her feet encased in black shoes grip the soil. On either side stand vases, each with one long-stemmed flower, probably a lily, of which mere traces remain. The arch and columns are richly polychrome with jewel effects, a favorite type of ornamentation in early Christian Egypt.²⁰ The design is of red, dark blue, yellow, green and black wool and white linen cut pile. Red is the color prevailing in the costume, the ankle-length tunic with long sleeves, *tunica manicata*, and the cowl, *maphorion*; checkered black and white are the shoulder and wrist bands, and the fringe around the medallion at her neck. This may be a bulla of horn,²¹ such as were found in many tombs in the cemeteries of Akhmim. They show incised representations of the Nativity and Baptism of Christ and may have been worn as amulets. White also are the two blossoms which relieve the monotony of the simple head cloth.

The beautiful figure may represent the soul of the dead woman entering paradise in the attitude of praying, offering thanks to God. Or she may be *euche*, prayer personified. The noble gesture is very old, it occurs in Greek and Egyptian antiquity. Tertullian (c. 155-c. 222) sees in it a symbolic connection with the Crucifixion.

The date of this important fabric rests somewhere between the fourth and fifth century. Remarkable both technically and aesthetically, it also has the advantage of a pedigree, since it is known to have been discovered in a tomb of the cemetery of Sheik Sayet near Akhmim. Akhmim is one of the very earliest known centers of weaving,²² whether as Khen-min in Pharaonic times, as Chemmis or Panopolis during the Ptolemaic and Roman period or as the Coptic Schmin and finally the Arab Akhmim. It is quite probable that here the Coptic weavers continued even after the Arab conquest the manufacture in which they excelled. For their new masters they may have worked at those hangings with portraits of the great men of Islam²³ which the caliph Mustansir (1036-1094) collected and which were burnt in 1062, with all the treasures accumulated in the arsenal at Cairo.

- ¹ L. Stephani in *Compte Rendu de la Commission Archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1878-1879, plates III to VI. The textile fragments found in the Greek tombs at Kertch were long preserved in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd. Today they are probably at Moscow.
- ² R. Cox, *Les soieries d'art*, Paris, 1914, plate I. From Egypt, site unrecorded, possibly of the Ptolemaic period. See also Vivi Sylwan, in M. Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 25-26.
- ³ Gift of the Founders Society, Octavia Bates Fund. Accession number 35.103. Height of head $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Published *Bulletin* of the Detroit Institute of Arts, XV (1936), 83-85. Exhibited: (1) Brooklyn, *Pagan and Christian Egypt*, 1941, catalogue pp. 46, 74, pl. 231. Elizabeth Riefstahl calls it "this splendid piece." Sirarpie Der Nersessian, in her review of this exhibition in *Art Bulletin*, XXIII (1941), 165, says: "The tapestry woven head from the Detroit Institute of Arts, perhaps the finest in the exhibition, is handled in the manner of impressionistic painting"; (2) Grand Rapids, *Masterpieces of the Weaver's Art*, 1941, catalogue no. 1; (3) Baltimore, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 1947, catalogue no. 820.
- ⁴ R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, Paris, 1934; *Nouveaux textiles de Palmyre*, Paris, 1937.
- ⁵ R. Pfister and Louisa Bellinger, "The Textiles"; part II, Final report IV, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, New Haven, 1945.
- ⁶ M. S. Dimand, "Coptic Tunics in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol. II, part 2, 1930.
- ⁷ Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie chrétienne*, II, 245.
- ⁸ J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 116.
- ⁹ Pictures of altars with ciborium veils: (1) Vienna Genesis, *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek*, Vienna, State Library; (2) *Menologium of Basil II*, Rome, Vatican Library; (3) *Syrian Pontificale*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
- ¹⁰ J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, p. 159 ff.
- ¹¹ Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, London, 1894, p. 48 f.
- ¹² L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886-1892. Stephan Beissel published all the references concerning textiles and embroideries, in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 1894.
- ¹³ Gift of the Founders Society, Octavia Bates Fund. Accession number 46.76. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Exhibited: Baltimore, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 1947, catalogue no. 782.
- ¹⁴ Heinrich Drerup, "Die Datierung der Mumienporträts," *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, vol. XIX, Paderborn, 1933. Especially Plates 15 (Louvre, no. 2732 bis.); 16 (Würzburg, no. H. 2196, ex-coll. Graf no. 44) and 17 (Vienna, no. X 300).
- ¹⁵ J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 40, pl. II.
- ¹⁶ O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 578. Francisque-Michel, *Recherches sur les étoffes de soie . . . pendant le Moyen Age*, Paris, 1852, I, 21, n. 2. Gratianus wrote to Ausonius: "Palmatam tibi misi in qua divus Constantius parens noster intextus est."
- ¹⁷ A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt*, London, 1921, II, frontispiece and 24, no. 341.
- ¹⁸ M. H. Simaika Pasha, *A brief guide to the Coptic Museum*, Cairo, 1938, no. 2072, p. 38, pl. XLVII.
- ¹⁹ Gift of the Founders Society, Octavia Bates Fund. Accession number 46.75. Height $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width 25 inches; height of figure $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Exhibited: Paris, Gobelins, *Exposition de tapis et de tapisseries d'Orient de haute époque*, 1934, catalogue no. 150. Baltimore, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 1947, catalogue no. 793. All three textiles are from the Mallon collection.
- ²⁰ W. R. Lethaby, "Byzantine silks in London Museums," *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV (1913), 138 and 185.
- ²¹ R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis*, Strassburg, 1893, p. 21. Forrer, *Römische und byzantinische Seidentextilien von Achmim*, Strassburg, 1891, pl. v, figs. 8 and 9.
- ²² *Ibid.*, *Die Gräber- und Textilfunde von Achmim*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 11.
- ²³ J. Gerspach, *Les Tapisseries Coptes*, Paris, 1890.



*Fig. 3. Coptic, 4th-5th Century, An Orant Standing within an Arch
Detroit Institute of Arts*



*Fig. 1. REMBRANDT, "The Falconer," here identified as Count Floris V
Göteborg, Konstmuseet*

REMBRANDT'S CONCEPTION OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITURE *By W. R. VALENTINER*

IT IS difficult for us to realize today how uncritical was the conception of history in the baroque period. In the portrayal of historical figures scant attention was paid to the sources which might have provided authentic bases for representation. Any sufficiently convincing interpretation served to satisfy the taste of an age which did not demand the specific. The public took it for granted that the name attached to a portrait and based upon the legend of a print or perhaps only upon the word of the artist, was correct. How different was the approach of the nineteenth century artist when undertaking a portrait, say of Dante, Leonardo, or Shakespeare! He started by securing as many reliable likenesses as possible and created from them a portrait which could not be mistaken for anything but what it was, but which seldom conveyed anything of the greatness of the man behind the mask. When Rembrandt had to paint Aristotle, Homer or Julius Civilis, he took one of his models who may have had a distant resemblance to the famed personage, attired him in fantastic guise, and after endowing him with the expression he considered fitting for said personage, added perhaps an attribute or two which helped the spectator of his time to identify him.

If an engraving does not identify the person Rembrandt had in mind, and if documentary evidence is missing, it is often difficult to tell who is supposed to be represented. Our cultural background has changed completely and historical, classical and even biblical figures which were easily recognized from certain characteristics by the public of the baroque age, may to us appear wholly unfamiliar. One may demur that it is not strictly essential for our appreciation of the intensely emotional quality of Rembrandt's imaginative portraits to be apprised of their identity, were it not that such investigation reveals the nature of the historical and legendary figures which appealed to him and the problems with which he had to cope to satisfy his public.

A striking example of the complete negligence in regard to historical authenticity is a series of prints published in Paris in 1644 by François Langlois called *F. L. D. Ciatres*, depicting famous men of the past, especially philosophers, crusaders and Orientals, who were of interest to the public of Rembrandt's time. Among them are several copies of engravings done by Rembrandt's pupil, Van Vliet, after paintings by the master in his Leyden

period. One of them is a portrait of Rembrandt's father, the original of which was painted about 1630 (now in the museum at Innsbruck), but which is called in Van Vliet's engraving *Le Juif Philo*. The engraving was done a few years after the oil, and, in all probability, with Rembrandt's knowledge. The possibility that the strange historical names were affixed to the series by the French publisher unbeknownst to Rembrandt is unlikely, since he and Claude Vignon, who made most of the designs for this series of portraits, were obviously on good terms with the master, as we learn from a letter written by Vignon to Langlois in 1641 from Paris. Langlois was traveling at this time in England and Holland. Vignon asks him to give Rembrandt his best regards when he sees him at Amsterdam, and to tell him that one of his paintings will come up at auction in Paris very soon. He also wants Langlois to take some of Rembrandt's works with him to Paris.¹ Rembrandt probably did not object to having his paintings engraved under fantastic names. It was in his interest, at least from a financial point of view, as it seems to have resulted in orders for duplicates of the painting, which Rembrandt had his workshop execute. This is, at any rate, one explanation of the many contemporary copies which exist of precisely those paintings which were engraved or otherwise known as historical portraits.

Another characteristic instance is the so-called portrait of Jan van Leyden, the Baptist and self-appointed king of Muenster in Westphalia, who was taken prisoner and decapitated in 1536. This strange sectarian was a popular figure in Rembrandt's time, the story of his life having been treated in a play by Dullaert, given in the Amsterdam playhouse in 1660, at about the time of the execution of the engraving of his supposed portrait by Samuel van Hoogstraten, made after a study of a Jewish model by Rembrandt.² Of this study seven or eight early copies are known, some of such good quality that we are to believe that they were painted in Rembrandt's studio for people who wanted to own an original portrait of the famous Baptist from Leyden.

The public was more or less taken in by these fictitious portraits. Rembrandt must have been aware that the model of this study had no resemblance whatever to the historical Jan van Leyden. He undoubtedly knew the authentic engraved portrait by Aldegrever; he may have had an example of the print among his collections (which, according to the inventory, contained engravings by Aldegrever), or, at least he knew it from books familiar to him. It is reproduced, for instance, in the description of the Leyden University and its famous professors by Meursius (1625), published in Rembrandt's early

Leyden period, and in Orlers' history of Leyden (1641), which contained the first biography of Rembrandt himself.

Before we proceed in the attempt to identify some of the imaginative portraits of Rembrandt, there is still one point to be clarified. Rembrandt and his contemporaries cared so little for exactness in historical representations that they freely translated Jewish models into Christian heroes and Christian models into Jewish heroes, only requiring that the sitter be worthy of the subject. Thus the model for the Jewish neo-Platonist, Philo, is Rembrandt's own father, who was not Jewish, while a Jewish model is used for Jan van Leyden, who was, of course, a Christian. We shall see in the following notes that Rembrandt used a Jewish model for Aristotle and Paracelsus and even for a crusader, notwithstanding the fact that the crusades started in Europe with a persecution of the Jews.

I. PARACELSUS

In Hofstede de Groot's *Catalogue Raisonné* of Rembrandt's paintings we find under No. 665 mention of a lost portrait of Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim (ca. 1490-1541). The portrait of the most famous physician of the time of the Reformation is described in a sale catalogue at Rotterdam in 1676 as a portrait of Paracelsus in half-length by Rembrandt. It sold for 200 florins, a very high price judged by what Rembrandt's paintings sold for shortly after his death. His prices had at that time gone down to the lowest level, especially for the works of his last years, some of which sold for much less than 100 florins. It is likely, therefore, that this half-length portrait was one of the more carefully executed works of the early period. I believe it should be identified with the portrait called *An Oriental* or *A Rabbi*, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth (Fig. 2).

That this portrait is meant to be more than a portrait of an old Jew whom Rembrandt used more than once as a model,⁸ has long been recognized. The presence of a serpent wound around a column in the background has given rise to the suggestion that the painting is a representation of Moses who "made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived" (Numbers XXI:9). For a similar reason, Dr. Weisbach believes that the portrait may be Aaron, Moses' brother.

Evidence counter to these theories lies in the man's costume, which is not of the type Rembrandt used for patriarchs of the Old Testament. The Moses who breaks the tables of the law, in the painting in the Berlin Museum, is

shown in a very simple shirt and mantle without ornaments. Even in the thirties when the artist concentrated on elaborate, decorative dress we observe that the figure of Abraham is always clothed in a sort of classical, loose flowing garment without the rich, golden clasps and jewelry worn by the model of the Chatsworth portrait. It is very unlikely that Rembrandt would have represented an Old Testament figure in a fur coat held by a clasp containing a medallion showing in the center a portrait in profile. Even more important, it is a strong possibility that the brazen serpent, instead of representing the one which revived the Israelites in the desert, is actually part of the decoration of a study whose contents point to a scholar of more recent times. The column stands in a niche before which is a table covered with a cloth; on it lies a large open book placed against the column. A chair of heavy construction stands in front of the table, and a candlestick can be seen in the niche next to the serpent column; on the wall hangs a small wallet. My conclusion is that the man who works here follows some branch of study, which involves the use of a leather case when he goes out, and which is connected with the symbol of the serpent. Obviously it is the study of a doctor who has momentarily deserted his work table and come forward to greet a visitor. The serpent wound around a staff or column has since classical times been the symbol of Aesculapius, the patron of physicians.

Rembrandt was not the only one who painted a portrait of Paracelsus in the seventeenth century. The best known is the portrait by Rubens, in the museum of Brussels, painted two decades earlier. As Rubens was an archaeologist, he based his portrait on an earlier one of the sixteenth century which bore the name of Paracelsus on the balustrade before the sitter. But this portrait was not authentic either; it can be traced back through a copy in the Louvre to the original invention of Quentin Massys.⁴ Paracelsus never visited the Netherlands; probably the original painting by Massys did not even pretend to be a portrait of Paracelsus. Only one authentic likeness of the great physician is known to me, an etching showing him in profile, by Augustin Hirschvogel, executed about 1530. The only relationship which exists between Rubens' and Rembrandt's Paracelsus and the authentic likeness is that in all instances the subject is a man of heavy build with large head and short neck. Otherwise they have nothing in common. Still more incredible is the portrait etched by Wenzelaus Hollar,⁵ which seems to go back to a Renaissance painting from North Italy and represents an elegant, beardless young man in a costume of the Giorgione school.

The popularity of Paracelsus in the seventeenth century stemmed probably from his being not only a physician but a mystic and magician as well. He had been a pupil of Tithemius, abbot of Würzburg, who published a treatise on the great elixir and believed in the existence of the philosopher's stone. In his cosmogony Paracelsus was influenced by the kabbala. "These kabbalistic doctrines led him to trace the dependence of the human body upon nature for its sustenance and cure." It might have been this connection with the kabbala that influenced Rembrandt to use a Jewish model for his Paracelsus, if indeed he considered the choice of types for his imaginative compositions at all deeply. We do not know how well Rembrandt knew the works of Paracelsus; probably not too well, although the mystic's writings appeared in increasing editions in the first half of the seventeenth century (mostly in Latin), some of them in Holland. But he must have deemed him a successful and wealthy magician, thanks to his chemic researches, for he decorated him with a costly outfit of brocade and fur, clasped with unusually elaborate golden buckles and a large jewel fastened in his silken turban. Something of the pompous manner for which Paracelsus is known is well conveyed in this figure, combined, however, with a penetrating wisdom which radiates from his deep-set eyes. His mystic inclination is rendered by the strange light touching the headdress, the gold ornaments and the dim, mysterious study in the background.

We can be quite certain that what Rembrandt might have heard concerning Paracelsus' personality and philosophy would have exerted a strong appeal to him.

Paracelsus was the son of a physician at Einsiedeln (Switzerland) who was superintendent at the hospital. His real name was Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim; the other names, Philipus Aureolus Paracelsus (the latter appellation signifying that he surpassed Celsus, the Roman medical writer of the first century), were added to impress the world. School and university training did not interest him. After studying with Tithemius, he went to the Fugger mines in Tyrol, believing in a return to nature rather than application to the tradition of medicine as taught in the books of Galen and Avicenna. He is said to have burnt their works. In the mines he studied the nature of rocks, metals and mineral waters. He was the first to apply chemical medicine instead of using only pharmaceutical means. Despising scholastic disputations, he remarked: "Whence have I all my secrets, out of what writers and authors? Ask rather how the beasts have learned these arts. If nature can instruct irrational animals, can it not much more men?" Such sentiments are reminiscent

of what Sandrart writes about Rembrandt, namely, that he never stopped criticizing the academies and doctrines of writers on art, and claimed that nature alone could teach real art.

In 1526, Paracelsus became town physician in Basle, having been very successful with his cures. But when he gave courses at the university, fighting the greed and ignorance of his colleagues, he was attacked by the faculty and was forced to leave the town. A wandering life followed, mostly in south Germany, which ended in Salzburg where he was invited by Archbishop Ernst in 1541. In the same year he died under mysterious circumstances, killed, according to some, by apothecaries who hated him because he had not recommended their old-fashioned and worthless prescriptions.

It sounds very modern to hear that he based his wide view of medicine on the relationship which man bears to nature as a whole, that he believed that the life of man cannot be separated from the universe, and that disease is a phase of life. The article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1911), from which the present characterization of Paracelsus has been adopted, ends with the words:

It is most difficult to appreciate aright this man of fervid imagination, of powerful and persistent convictions, of unabated honesty and love of truth, of keen insight into errors (as he thought them) of his time, of a merciless will to lay bare the errors and to reform the abuses to which they gave rise, who in an instant offends us by his boasting, his grossness, his want of self-respect.

The portrait at Chatsworth must have been very popular in Rembrandt's time, and it is not an unimportant buttress for our theory, the fact that so many early copies exist, among them the well-known one by Salomon Koninck, in the Dresden Gallery.

II. COUNT FLORIS V

Among the compositions of Rembrandt's last years there stands out the strange, mysterious figure of the *Falconer* in the museum at Göteborg, Sweden (Fig. 1). A bearded, middle-aged man with straggly locks falling over his brow, dressed in rich robes and holding a jessed falcon on his left hand, stares straight at the spectator with that indefinable melancholy expression which characterizes Rembrandt's works of the sixties. The picture belongs to the group of life-size, single figures in half-length and frontal view which includes the *Juno*, the two *Lucretias*, the portraits in the Metropolitan Museum (Marquand collection), in the Joslyn Memorial Art Museum, Omaha, and a few others. The *Falconer*, however, differs from these paintings inasmuch as

the background is filled with an additional motif, though of secondary importance; behind the main figure is a tall horse turned to the right in profile, and a page at the left leaning diagonally forward, apparently adjusting the stirrups before his master makes ready to mount. The knight is lost in deep reflection, as though hesitating for some reason to start for the hunt.

Like its related frontal compositions, the present one surprises by its broad forms and monumental character. The main figure is built up triangularly, the hands placed almost symmetrically at the height of the belt, the elbows pushed outwards so that the outlines of the mantle are broadened. The border of the frame cuts over the figure in the lower part, the page touches the border on one side, the horse's head on the other, thus increasing the impression of volume and extension, while squeezing the masses into a narrow space. The composition has something of the character of a Greek relief with little depth and a perfect balance of all parts in the frontal plane.

The painting is obviously more than a portrait, which it is listed as in Bredius' book. That it is an imaginative figure can be proved by the fact that the model has been used more than once by Rembrandt in different garb and for different purposes (possibly even for the *Aristotle*, according to Hofstede de Groot). We know him, furthermore, from an actual portrait in the dress of his period, to wit, the painting of the *Man with a Beard* of 1665 in the Metropolitan. Perhaps the artist painted this particular portrait as a gift to his model, who had been sitting for him so faithfully for more than a decade. He was most likely a Portuguese Jew from Rembrandt's own neighborhood and his close friend.

The *Falconer* wears a picturesque velvet cap with large ostrich feathers of the kind Rembrandt used to wear in his self-portraits of the early Amsterdam period, a type of cap which, although revived in fashion many times since, was actually invented by him. But it was not the type of headgear which interested him in his later years except in special cases which lay outside his own masquerading. In a painting in Copenhagen, called the *Crusader* (Fig. 3), we find the imaginary figure wearing a similar feathered cap; it obviously represents the same subject as the *Falconer*, for which the identical model was used.⁶ In this instance, the person wears a large cross on his mantle. A cross suspended on a golden chain is also worn by the *Falconer*. Both personages are thereby characterized as Christian heroes, probably of the time of the crusades; and if we look through the illustrations of the Dutch city chronicles of Rembrandt's time we observe, indeed, that the Dutch knights of the middle ages wear

somewhat similar costumes, and, especially, similar feathered caps (see, for instance, Commelin's *History of Amsterdam*, Fig. 4). Having arrived at this point of research, it is not too difficult to discover which of the Dutch historical figures of medieval times could be represented in these two portraits in Denmark and Sweden. It is, I believe, the beloved hero of the Dutch people of Rembrandt's time, Count Floris V of Holland.

The many city histories published in Dutch in the seventeenth century, which form a special branch of Dutch literature, were to the people a more accessible source of information than the few elaborately compiled histories of the Netherlands written by university professors in Latin. These Dutch chronicles, with many illustrations, some of which must have been known to Rembrandt, are generally arranged to give first a long introduction describing the history of the town and of the whole country, followed by a description of the town proper, its government and most important buildings. In these general introductions, no one event of medieval history is dwelt upon more lovingly than that leading to the murder of Count Floris by his former friends and associates, Gerard van Velsen and Gysbrecht van Aemstel. As Blok in the standard work on Dutch history expressed it:

How Gerard van Velsen and Gysbrecht van Aemstel deceived the Count by feigning friendship and drinking a stirrup cup, enticed him outside Utrecht and took him to the castle of Muiden, Hooft's drama has put that before our eyes. No event of those barbarian centuries is better known to the Dutch people. The death of the beloved prince, so sincerely lamented by his people, of the best count of the old houses of Holland, has become a favorite subject of popular story; legend has endorsed it, art has surrounded it with ideal glory and borrowed from it many a striking bit. Floris' faithful hounds have not been the only creatures to mourn over the grave of the unfortunate "god of the people."

We are not surprised then to find Rembrandt also interested in this subject, and we believe that he selected the most dramatic moment of the event, from the psychological point of view, for his portrayal of the Count. We do not need to tell the whole story, one of the many feudal fights to the death between different factions of nobility, in which medieval history abounds. Gerard van Velsen, a confidante of Floris, turned against him and won Gysbrecht van Aemstel and other knights over to a plan to murder his former friend. The conspirators induced Floris to come to Utrecht on the pretext that a rebellion there had grown out of bounds. We quote from one of the city histories of Amsterdam, written in German by Filip von Zesen, and published in 1664, p. 25:



Fig. 2. REMBRANDT, "Portrait of an Oriental," here identified as Paracelsus
Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Coll.



Fig. 3. REMBRANDT, "The Crusader," here identified as Count Floris V
Copenhagen, Statens Museum



Fig. 4. Count Floris Taken Prisoner
Engraving from C. Commelin, "History of Amsterdam" (1694)



Fig. 5. Count Floris V
Engraving from Orlers' "History of Leiden" (1641)



Fig. 6. REMBRANDT, "The Polish Rider," here identified as Gysbrecht van Aemstel
Photo, Copyright The Frick Collection, New York

"Arrived at Utrecht, the Count on the next day went to the cathedral, accompanied by the traitors. At the entrance, an honest, unknown woman, probably sent by God, handed him a letter in which he was warned clearly enough in the following words: 'O kingly descendant, noble prince, remember what King David said: "My friend in whom I confide, who eats my bread, steps upon me with his feet."' The Count, generous by nature, placed no credence whatsoever upon the portent, but after mass invited all who had accompanied him, to his table. Next to him sat Van Aemstel and Woerden. The conspirators maintained a show of gaiety and wit during the meal to screen their evil intentions. Afterwards, Count Floris, slightly overwrought from the wine, retired to nap. Meanwhile, his enemies rode out of town, taking with them their servants, weapons, and whatever else needed for their treacherous work. When everything was ready, Gysbrecht, on the advice of the others,⁷ awakened the sleeping Count with a glowing invitation to come out into the fields and hunt.

"Floris, who liked nothing better than hunting with falcon, readily acceded, bidding his servant prepare horse and birds. He then proposed the health of Gysbrecht and drank to him with the following heart-breaking words: 'O Gysbrecht, I cannot deny that I have a deep love and friendship for you, and now I give you clear proof of it.' So speaking, he tendered him the cup, adding, 'Drink, O Aemstel, the heart and soul of Floris who is indescribably fond of you.' With this action and these words, it is not impossible that the Count, who had not forgotten the warning letter, tried to elicit some revealing reaction from his trusted friend.

"Gysbrecht took leave of the Count and returned to his brothers-in-arms, informing them of Floris' imminent arrival. The traitors secreted themselves in various hiding places, while Woerden alone remained to meet him. Immediately upon his arrival, as he was in the act of inquiring where the hunt was to begin, the conspirators fell upon him and captured him, although he fought back desperately. They took him to the castle Muiden, intending to transport him as soon as possible to England . . ."

In another version (O. Dapper, *Historische Beschreyving der Stadt Amsterdam*, 1663) it is said that the Count, upon being surrounded, first took it for a joke until Woerden tried to beat the falcon from his hand.

Thus the falcon played an important part in the story and was undoubtedly one of the attributes which enabled Rembrandt's contemporaries to recognize the subject of the painting. In the illustrated histories of the time, the Count

is always represented with a falcon upon his hand (Figs. 4 and 5). We also understand now why the personality in Rembrandt's portrait does not have the excited, exuberant expression of a falconer preparing for the hunt, but is rather filled with somber foreboding of a dire event at the moment he is about to mount his horse. Rembrandt portrayed the tense moment when Floris, having given the beaker to Gysbrecht, inwardly debates whether to trust this friend or heed the advice of the old woman so mysteriously sent.

Hooft, the leading Dutch playwright before Vondel, had immortalized the tragedy of Count Floris in his play, *Gerard van Velsen*, which Rembrandt, like any Amsterdamer interested in the theater, must have known. It was written in 1612, in Rembrandt's youth, played frequently, and imitated by a younger poet, the surgeon Colevelt, in his tragedy, *Count Floris* (1628). Hooft had been appointed by Prince Maurice of Nassau to be sheriff of Muiden, the medieval castle near the Zuider Zee, where Count Floris had been kept prisoner many centuries before. It has been suggested that the idea for his play came to him while riding through the Gooi, the district south of Amsterdam, en route to his castle, for he could hear the peasants still singing the old, medieval song of Gerard van Velsen and Count Floris.⁸ From about 1627 to his death in 1647,⁹ Hooft was the leading light in the Muiden circle, to which the foremost intellectuals of Holland belonged. The attempt has been made recently¹⁰ to show that Rembrandt was also a part of this group of famous poets, philosophers and artists, initiated by Constantin Huygens and the Leyden professor, Caspar van Baerle, who moved to Amsterdam in the same year as Rembrandt. Although actual proof of Rembrandt's connection with the circle has not been established, there is a likelihood that he was conversant with the Muiden gatherings and outlook. Hooft died in 1647, shortly after he had attended the funeral of Prince Frederick Henry, the patron of poets and painters, for whom Rembrandt also must have had a high esteem, as he executed several commissions for him between 1632-46. It is very likely that Rembrandt participated in the memorial service for Hooft which included a performance of his play, *Gerard van Velsen*. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that Rembrandt was well acquainted with the literature dedicated to Count Floris.

Rembrandt, turning in his later years to the portrayal of figures from Dutch history, corresponded to the trend of the times. As the list of theatrical performances in Amsterdam shows, the public's interest in biblical subjects, so active before the middle of the century, waned after 1650.¹¹ Patriotism now

demanding the representation of historical or allegorical themes glorifying the Dutch republic, and of classical subjects which could be related and identified with Dutch history. It was the end of an era of action and the beginning of a period in which people wanted to enjoy the pleasure of the present with the past for the spectacle of its glorious quality. Rembrandt did not relinquish his interest in biblical subjects, which persisted throughout his career, but after the fifties themes relating to the history of his country became increasingly frequent, not only in his drawings and etchings (if we include the Phoenix allegory of 1658), but also in his large painted compositions. The national political aspect of these themes is often concealed behind classical imagery, as in the story of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, or in the *Lucretia* or the *Juno*, who was considered the goddess of wealth, as we learn from city chronicles where she appears in decorative reliefs upon several public buildings.

In the *Julius Civilis* only did Rembrandt create a direct delineation of a significant event from Dutch history, in competition with other artists who worked for the decoration of the City Hall. We believe that three more paintings should be added to the list of Rembrandt's works of national subjects, namely, the two portraits of Count Floris and that of Gysbrecht van Aemstel, to whom we now turn.

III. GYSBRECHT VAN AEMSTEL

The mystery of the *Polish Rider* (Fig. 6) has not yet been completely solved, although Dr. Held in his exhaustive article in the *Art Bulletin* (1944), has advanced considerably our understanding of the problem. Held pointed out that the rider cannot be an officer of the Lysouski regiment, a supposition based upon the opinion of Polish students; that in fact the composition does not represent a contemporary portrait as does the only other equestrian portrait of which we know by Rembrandt (in the collection of Lord Cowper at Panshanger, Bredius 255). Whether Rembrandt intended it as a symbolical painting, however, as "an inspiring symbol of military prowess and moral righteousness" in the manner of Dürer's *Knight, Death and Devil*, as Dr. Held suggests, is less certain. We are, of course, at liberty to add our own interpretation and feelings to such a poetic and imaginative painting of Rembrandt's later period, and Held expresses it well when he says that "the spirit of the crusades still sheds a last gleam of light on the youth . . . whose Eastern costume identifies him with those national groups to whom the dangers of non-Christian powers were still a very real and constant concern." But the comparison with

Dürer makes it doubly clear how differently Rembrandt proceeded in his interpretation. While Dürer was superlative in symbolical and allegorical compositions, Rembrandt was considerably less successful in such themes. His emotions were so little influenced by intellectual considerations that to develop an allegory by reasoning, as in the case of Dürer, instead of intensifying his imaginative powers actually inhibited them. There is no doubt that many of his compositions developed into works of highly imaginative and idealistic character, but his fancy seems to have flown best only when it could attach itself to an actuality, such as a true event or a sympathetic model whom he could elevate by depth of feeling or pity to a higher plane. We observe this in the personalities of Saul, Simeon, Aristotle, Homer, Lucretia, and many others, who are all developed out of observations and emotions aroused while he painted certain models who stood or sat before him.

If, therefore, the *Polish Rider* is not an actual portrait, it can only be, to my mind, either a biblical or historical character.¹² I thought at one time that it might represent the hunter Esau, who rode out for new adventures after he had carelessly sold his birthright. Rembrandt depicted the story of Jacob and Esau in several drawings¹³ from the middle of the fifties and earlier, in which Esau appears in Oriental costume returning home hungry from the hunt to ask his brother for the pottage of lentils. The artist treats the subject in a way that shows he preferred Esau to the tricky Jacob who took advantage of his elder brother's generous and adventurous nature. Rembrandt liked to develop and elaborate upon these biblical stories; and as a few drawings of the same period represent a hunter in a mountainous landscape¹⁴ similar to the one of the *Polish Rider*, it did not seem improbable that his imagination was captured by the conception, in the Esau story, of the eternal hunter who chooses a life of adventure in preference to the more inactive existence of Jacob exploiting his trivial business instincts. As Isaac said to Esau after Jacob had appropriated his blessing and Esau had "cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, 'Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven above; and by thy sword shalt thou live . . .'"

But while Rembrandt loved to elaborate biblical stories in his drawings, it is less likely that he would have done so in a rather large, carefully composed painting, especially if the subject were not one easily understood by the Dutch public of his period. Besides, the rider's costume is so specifically Polish (or, if we accept Held's reservations, as it manifests a certain incorrectness, nearly Polish) as to make it unlikely that Rembrandt would have clothed an Old

Testament personage in it. Reading, therefore, the story of Count Floris and recognizing his representation in the *Falconer*, the idea presented itself that the other great hero of Dutch history, according to the opinion of Rembrandt's day, might be the subject of the *Polish Rider*.

The general consent, including the opinion of the Polish students, is that the type of the *Polish Rider* is not that of a Pole, but of a Dutchman. This Dutchman in quasi-Polish uniform is on his way to commence a great, new adventure. He is riding swiftly, his face filled with the excitement of coming events. He passes along a mountainous chain from which a thin waterfall drops on the left, developing into a stream flowing to the right foreground.

These elements are appropriate to no one more than to Gysbrecht van Aemstel who lived at the transition of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, and is regarded as one of the first masters of the city of Amsterdam. After he had (unwittingly, according to the Dutch patriotic historians) participated in the conspiracy against Count Floris, he left Holland in the company of Harman van Woerden. This companion was said to have drowned in the Lek River, but Gysbrecht escaped to East Prussia (in the opinion of some writers, to Poland, in that of others, to a place in East Prussia near the Polish frontier) and founded a town named New Holland. We are told that in this town the tongue was a mixture of Dutch and Polish until Rembrandt's time. Three years after his flight, after the unexpected death of Count Floris' son Jan, Gysbrecht returned to Holland and tried to settle in Amsterdam again. He started to build wooden bridges and towers, but the work was never finished for an army of peasants from nearby provinces stormed the city, destroying it completely, and driving out Gysbrecht, from whom nothing more was ever heard.

It might be questioned whether the mountainous landscape in the *Polish Rider* could represent a country as flat as East Prussia or part of Poland. But in Vondel's play, an angel tells Gysbrecht before leaving Amsterdam:

Zyn wil is dat ghy trekt naar't
verre lant van Pruissen
Daar uit het Pools gebergt de Wyssel
stroom komt ruissen
Die d'oovers rijk van urugt genoegelijk
bespoelt
Verhouw u daar, en wacht, tot dat de
wraak verkoelt.

(The will of God is that you depart to the far country of Prussia where from the Polish mountains the Weichssel river rushes forward, splashing the shores so rich with fruit.

There remain and wait till the feeling for revenge has cooled.)

We have at least one documentary proof that Rembrandt was acquainted with the story of Gysbrecht van Aemstel. The figure next in importance to the Captain in the *Nightwatch*, Lieutenant Ruytenburch, who stands out among all the other civil guards in his bright yellow uniform, wears a steel collar whose border is chased with the name Gysbrecht van Aemstel. Whether the lieutenant actually possessed a steel collar of this kind or whether Rembrandt decorated him with it, we cannot decide. The fact remains that the artist knew the meaning of this inscription which pointed to the great medieval hero as patron of those who strove for similar deeds. As A. J. Barnouw in his book on Vondel writes: "Vondel's drama gave the sanction of history and poetry to these romantic imaginings. Gysbrecht van Aemstel became the eponymous hero of seventeenth century Amsterdam—*genus a quo principe nostrum*—and the legendary founder and patron saint of its civic guard."

But even if Gysbrecht's name did not appear on the *Nightwatch*, we can be certain that Rembrandt must have known Vondel's play, the most popular in Holland at the time the new theater in Amsterdam was opened in 1638. It had such an exceptional success that it was repeated twelve times in January—its opening month—and in the following months before packed houses. Plays at this period were not often revived, but *Gysbrecht van Aemstel* was given again in 1641 and performed altogether 121 times during Vondel's lifetime. It has been continuously on the repertoire of the Dutch theater since and is still played in Holland every year around Christmas time, as the action takes place on the day of the Nativity.¹⁵

Vondel altered the sequence of events as related by the Dutch chronicles to fit into his poetic drama; but it would seem that Rembrandt followed the historians rather than the poet. In the play, Gysbrecht has retired to Amsterdam after eluding the pursuers who want to revenge Count Floris' murder. The town is beleaguered by an army of peasants and when Gysbrecht is betrayed almost into their hands, an angel appears and bids him give up resistance and go into exile. The brave hero refuses until he is told that his task is to found a new city in the East and that someday his native Amsterdam will be one of the leading cities of the world.

Early Dutch historians agree on the general events of Gysbrecht's career, namely, that he participated in the conspiracy against Floris (1296), escaped to Poland or East Prussia and remained there three years to build a town, "New Holland," and returned in 1300 unsuccessfully trying to regain Amsterdam.

O. Dapper in his *Historische Beschreyving der Stadt Amsterdam*, 1663, p. 65, writes:

Harman van Woerden and Gysbrecht van Aemstel in the company of many others left their country and settled in Polen—as it is told—where there still exists a city named "Holland," founded by these knights. Remains of their descendants are still preserved there. For, although the place is situated in Polen, the inhabitants still speak Dutch in addition to Polish. According to some, the site is actually in Prussia, and is more of a village than a town, while the language spoken is a jargon, being neither Dutch nor Polish, but something in between."

A few pages further (p. 69), Dapper adds:

Some writers say that Gysbrecht van Aemstel after the death of Count Jan, returned about 1300, took and fortified Amsterdam, and the castle with wooden bridges and towers, but that the neighboring tribes drove him out and destroyed the castle to the ground.

Filip von Zesen in his *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, 1664, gives in general the same version, dating Gysbrecht's escape from Amsterdam in 1296, the death of Count Jan 1299, and the return of Gysbrecht as 1300. "After Gysbrecht and his friends left Holland in 1296, they went to Prussia on the Polish frontier, where their descendants are still to be found in a small place called 'Holland,' not far from Elbing, speaking their mother tongue, though not unmixed with other languages."

At the end of the seventeenth century, the native historians seem to have become more critical regarding the Dutch settlement in East Prussia, as we read in Caspar Commelin's *Beschreyving van Amsterdam* (3 vols., 1694). Commelin gives a very detailed account of the life of Gysbrecht, constantly citing the sources used: Beka; Hollandische Kronik; Vossius, and quoting elaborately from Vondel's play. He does not feel so sure regarding the story of the foundation of a large Dutch town by Gysbrecht, as investigations made in East Prussia had revealed the existence of only a village named Holland near Elbing, where no Dutch at all is spoken. He theorizes rather that Gysbrecht went to the Crusaders' order of Teutonic Knights who, he says, founded the Marienburg in East Prussia as a fortress against the Slavs in 1302, which is only five miles distant from the little town of Holland. This is the more likely, according to Commelin, as the Dutch chronicles say that Count Willem IV of Holland made several campaigns together with the Teutonic order against the Russians. It is therefore possible, Commelin pointed out, that Hollanders, including Gysbrecht, were among those crusaders, all the more so as we find

descendants of Gysbrecht as crusaders of the Teutonic order in the fifteenth century.¹⁶

This would bring us back to the idea proposed by Dr. Held, that the *Polish Rider* may represent the type of Christian Knight who fought the heathens at the time of the crusades. In this connection it should be mentioned that Vondel, like many of his contemporaries, was possessed by the fear of non-Christian powers in the East which might destroy Christian civilization, and for this reason wrote several plays to expose the danger and urge the need for the unification of the Western nations against the East.

... But Christendom
Stirs not, though frontier guards, alone
Cry, "Help! The Turk is come."
Thus heartened will the Turk apace
Through Europe burn his trace,
And drive the wreckage of her race
To market, slaves for sale,
Like cattle bleating piteously.
Then will they, all too late
Look back for aid and remedy!
Who can escape that fate?¹⁷

The question arises whether Gysbrecht is represented in Rembrandt's painting as arriving at his destination in East Prussia, or as leaving it again for Holland after his stay of three years. Although the latter premise would make it easier to understand his Polish outfit, I am inclined to think that Rembrandt intended to show him arriving after his escape from Amsterdam and after an exhausting journey of many days. This would explain why the horse appears emaciated, almost skeletal, yet still pulsing with the force and driving spirit of his master, characteristic traits for which all sorts of explanations have been sought by various students.¹⁸

Finally, we may ask why Rembrandt painted Gysbrecht as a young man when history depicts him as a man of advanced age in the years of his flight to Poland. The explanation is not difficult. At the time the painting was executed, about 1655-57, Rembrandt's heroes were mostly young men or boys, like Esau, Tobias, Mars, Pallas, and even the prophet, Daniel; it was undoubtedly the influence of the youthful Titus, an exceptionally handsome, regular featured and poetically inclined boy whom his father cherished, if we may judge from the many portraits he painted of him. The suggestion has been made by a Polish scholar that Titus was the model for the Rider. If it is objected that he was too

young in the middle of the fifties, we must realize that the exact year of the painting is not known, that it could have been done in '57 as well as in '55, and that it need not have been the actual, physical Titus who inspired his father, but rather his general cast and character. We do not know whether Rembrandt painted the masterpiece as a commission, for his own pleasure or as a possible canvas for the new City Hall when historical works were demanded; but it is a pleasant conjecture that it was created around Titus whose youthful and fanciful spirit it could serve so dramatically to embody. We should also remember that at this time Titus was going to school and, like every schoolboy with imagination, was undoubtedly much taken with the heroes of Dutch history, and that his father may have painted one of his heroes for him in the figure of Gysbrecht van Aemstel.

If we accept the identification of the *Falconer* as Count Floris V, and the *Polish Rider* as Gysbrecht van Aemstel, Rembrandt has not only represented the greatest hero of Dutch history at the time of the Romans, Julius Civilis, but also the two most popular ones of the Middle Ages in compositions of his late period which rank among his most poetic works.

¹ Hofstede de Groot, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt*, 1906, no. 90.

² See my article: "Rembrandt and Samuel van Hoogstraten," *Art in America*, 1930.

³ For instance, in those two drawings which are closely related to our painting and obviously done from the same model: *An Oriental sitting at a Table*, H. de Groot coll., Hague, H.d.G. 1284; and *Oriental Standing*, British Museum, London, H.d.G. 912.

⁴ Max J. Friedländer, *Alt-niederländische Malerei*, Vol. II, no. 78.

⁵ Reproduced by Jan Six in *Oud Holland*, 1897, p. 8.

⁶ Rembrandt seems to have used the model of the *Falconer* for the following paintings: (1) *Aristotle* (1653), Erickson coll., New York; (2) *Rabbi* (1657), A. F. Reyre, New York, published Los Angeles *Rembrandt exhibition*, 1947, no. 27; (3) *Rabbi* (1657), National Gallery, London; Bredius, 283; (4) *Bearded Man* (1661), Hermitage, Leningrad, Bredius, 309; (5) *Crusader* (c. 1665), Copenhagen Museum, Bredius, 318; (6) *Falconer* (c. 1665), Göteborg Museum, Bredius, 319; (7) *Portrait of a Man* (1665), Metropolitan Museum, New York, Bredius, 317. Most of these identifications go back to Hofstede de Groot and to Schneider-Bredius.

⁷ As Gysbrecht was the other great hero of Dutch medieval history, the early writers endeavor to exonerate him as much as possible on the plea that he was possibly taken in by his evil associates, or that he was too old at the time to understand fully the situation.

⁸ G. Kalf, *Geschiedenis der Ned. Letterkunde*, IV, 1909, 214.

⁹ A. J. Barnouw, *Vondel*, p. 39.

¹⁰ H. Kauffmann, *Berlin Jahrbuch*, 1920; Hofstede de Groot, *Oud Holland*, 1923-24.

¹¹ Barnouw, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹² In justice to Dr. Held, it should be noted that he leaves such a possibility open when he writes: "Rembrandt may have called him a definite name. There is little hope that we will ever know it."

¹³ *Rembrandt Handzeichnungen*, Klassiker der Kunst, Vol. I, nos. 55-61.

¹⁴ *Handzeichnungen*, Vol. II, no. 618; see also no. 601, footnote.

¹⁵ Barnouw, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁶ Commelin, Vol. I, p. 123.

¹⁷ Barnouw, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-204.

¹⁸ J. Held, *Ari Bulletin*, 1944, pp. 259-263.

THE DATE OF TITIAN'S BIRTH

By R. LANGTON DOUGLAS

THE establishment of the correct date of an artist's birth is not always unimportant to the art historian or even to the art critic. This fact has been recently made clear by the discovery of the date of the birth of Andrea del Castagno. It is not unimportant in the case of Titian. Was he born in the year 1477, as Ridolfi asserts, or was he born in or about the year 1489, as two of his intimate friends stated in works that were published during the artist's lifetime? It is my considered opinion that the adherence of several distinguished art historians — both old and young — to the belief that Titian was born in the year 1477 or thereabouts has led to grave misunderstandings regarding the development of his style as an artist, and also concerning his character as a man.

To arrive at the truth regarding the date of Titian's birth is peculiarly difficult owing to the fact that in the age of the Renaissance men were accustomed to make very incorrect statements about the ages of those with whom they were personally acquainted. In Leonardo's later years his contemporaries believed that he was considerably older than he was. Piero di Cosimo's friends jumped to the conclusion that he was eighty when he was in his sixtieth year.¹ When, in his later life, Matteo Bandello was Bishop of Agen, his own suffragan and coadjutor believed that the *novelliere* was fifteen years older than he actually was.² Vasari made mistakes when writing about his own age. Even today — when there is a higher standard of accuracy both among historians and local chroniclers than there was in the sixteenth century, and when in public and private libraries there are works of reference in which are brief biographies of persons of prominence in politics, in the military forces of the country as well as in science, literature and the arts — we find well-informed men differing considerably when they make guesses regarding the age of a venerable contemporary.³

A great deal of the evidence that has been produced on both sides in this controversy about the date of Titian's birth is of little value, either because it is the testimony of wholly unreliable witnesses or because it consists of statements made at third or fourth hand, which may have had their origin in tainted sources.

We possess today the testimony of only five witnesses who, during Titian's lifetime, made statements regarding Titian's age. In two cases these statements



Fig. 1. TITIAN, *The Assumption*
Venice, Frari

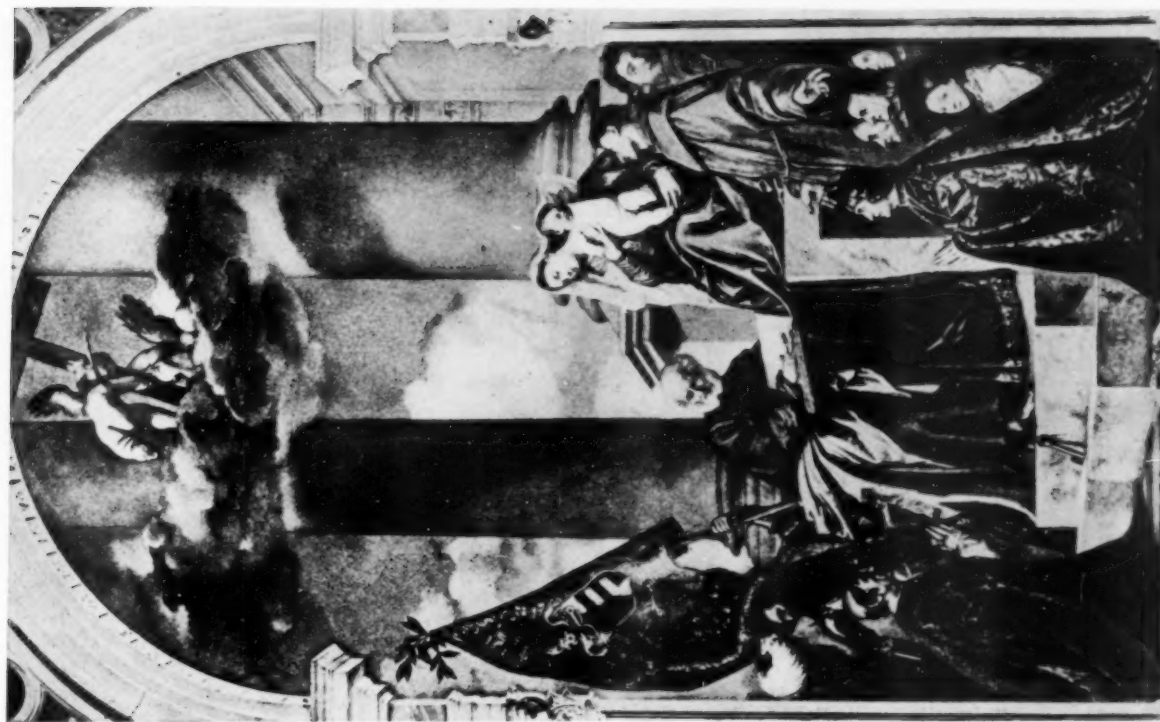


Fig. 2. TITIAN, *The Pesaro Madonna*
Venice, Frari



Fig. 3. TITIAN, *Jacopo Pesaro and Alexander VI before St. Peter*, Antwerp



Fig. 4. PALMA VECCHIO, *Virgin and Child with Saints*, Lugano, Thyssen Coll.

were made in published works by friends of Titian, Lodovico Dolce and Vasari. The others are to be found in what may be called begging letters. One of these letters was written by Titian himself, the two others by Spanish agents in Venice at the request of the artist. We propose to examine each of these allegations and to estimate its credibility. We shall also scrutinize, far more carefully than has been done by some of Titian's biographers, the evidence that is to be found in such early works of Titian as the *Jacopo Pesaro and Alexander VI before St. Peter* (Fig. 3), a picture which is now at Antwerp.

The earliest contemporary testimony as to the date of Titian's birth is in Lodovico Dolce's work *L'Aretino o Dialogo della Pittura*, which was published in the year 1557. Dolce not only knew Titian, he was also well acquainted with Aretino, Titian's intimate friend. He tells us that, when Giorgione was painting frescoes on the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, his pupil Titian assisted him, and that at that time the young artist was scarcely twenty years old ("a pena venti anni").⁴ That statement agrees with two statements by Vasari which imply that Titian was born in or about the year 1489.

Professor Mather, who believes that Titian was born in or about the year 1477, endeavors to throw doubts on Dolce's evidence because that author states that Titian was a *giovanetto* when he painted his great *Assumption* (Fig. 1), a picture which was finished in the year 1518, in which year, if Titian was born in 1489 as I believe, the artist was twenty-nine years of age.⁵

Throughout his article "When was Titian Born?" Professor Mather assumes that Italian writers give a very definite connotation to such words as *giovanetto*, *giovane*, *vecchia* and *vecchiezza*. As a matter of fact, both in their writings and in ordinary conversation, such words are used very loosely by Italians even today. Almost as loosely as their equivalents are sometimes uttered colloquially in Great Britain and Ireland, and also in America, at the present time.⁶ Moreover, when Dolce states that Titian was "hardly twenty years old" at the time that he painted frescoes at the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, he is clearly making a far more definite, responsible statement than when he asserts that Titian was a "giovanetto," when, at the age of twenty-nine, he finished his *Assumption*.

Our belief in Dolce's assertion regarding Titian's age in the year 1508 becomes of great importance when we recall that Vasari, who was also a friend of Titian, twice makes a statement in his biography of the painter which implies that he was born in or about the year 1489.

Any statement of Vasari regarding some important fact in one of his biographies is to be relied on, as a rule, when he knew the artist intimately and

had collected the material for that biography from the man himself. In the years 1566 and 1567 Vasari was diligently assembling new material for the second edition of his *Lives*, which was published in 1568. Without doubt he was especially anxious to learn all that he could about Titian, seeing that he was preparing for insertion in his *magnum opus* an entirely new biography of a man who had at that time become the world's most famous artist, among whose admiring patrons were the most powerful rulers of the age. In the first edition of the *Lives*, which was published in 1550, Vasari had not included a biography of Titian; and he had not mentioned him in his list of the most important Italian artists of the time. Vasari — who, like Titian himself, was a keen careerist and a friend of Pietro Aretino, and who was naturally disposed to treat well men who had influential patrons — was, without doubt, anxious to atone for his neglect of this very successful painter. In fact, it may be stated with confidence that the chief object of Vasari's visit to northern Italy in 1566 was to talk with Titian and to collect from the master's own lips, and also from those who knew him well, material for his new biography.

It is true that, when he came to write this *Life*, he inserted in the first sentence of it a unique date for Titian's birth — a date which is quite inconsistent with that which he gives in the course of the biography, as we shall presently see. Vasari was not always careful when he had hurriedly transcribed a numeral, or when he made a guess at some date that he had apparently forgotten. Professor Mather himself admits that "in general the neighbourhood guess as to the age of a very old person is subject to several years' error and is usually expressed in round numbers."⁷ In this case Vasari inserts characteristically a round number "1480," perhaps for the reason that he had not been able to recollect the digit that ought to have followed the figure "8." In support of the date 1480 for Titian's birth, there is no evidence of any kind; and Vasari himself contradicts his opening statement in the pages that follow. In the course of his biography he twice makes assertions that imply that Titian was born in or about 1489.

Vasari's *Life* of the artist, we may recall, was entitled *Descrizione delle Opere di Tiziano di Cadore, pittore*. His chief object in going to Venice in 1566 was, as we have said, to collect material for this *Descrizione*. Without doubt the most important of the documents that he took back with him to Florence was a list of the pictures that his friend had painted up to that time. He tells us that this list contained all the more important works that Titian had finished "until his age of about seventy-six years."⁸ If Titian were seventy-

six years old when Vasari paid this memorable visit to Venice, the artist must have been born in or about the years 1489/1490.

This statement regarding the date of Titian's birth is confirmed by other evidence that is to be found in Vasari's biography. He informs us that it was about the year 1507 that Giorgione began to paint in his own personal style — a style, we may add, which, as Vasari realized, initiated a new era in Venetian art.⁹ He adds the information that Titian, having seen works in Giorgione's new manner decided to adopt it. He tells us also that "at the beginning, when he began to follow the manner of Giorgione," Titian "had not more than eighteen years."¹⁰ Here again we have a statement by a friend and contemporary of Titian which implies that the artist was born in or about the year 1489.

The third contemporary writer who gave evidence in Titian's lifetime as to the date of this artist's birth was Titian himself. In a begging letter addressed to Philip II in August, 1571, Titian stated that his age was ninety-four.¹¹ We shall now proceed to show that Titian was an entirely unreliable witness and that he had a powerful motive for endeavoring to rouse the pity of wealthy patrons such as Charles V, Cardinal Granvella and Philip II by representing himself as an old man in urgent need of money.

As a matter of fact, Titian, who was as Gronau records, "a clever and cautious business-man,"¹² had amassed a considerable fortune. Over a long period he had received, according to Vasari, large sums of money for many of his works: he had engaged in several profitable undertakings; and he owned a considerable amount of real property, both land and houses. Holding the office of the *Senseria*, he received an annual income from the Republic. He had, too, a pension from Charles V and many large sums of money from Charles' son. "Titian," writes Gronau, "was, by general consent, very avaricious." "We get confirmation of this love of money in Titian," he states, "from a number of witnesses not to be refuted. The Spanish envoy, Garcia Hernandez, calls him 'rather avaricious,' the art dealer Stoppio 'avarice itself,' Agatone, the agent for Urbino, who often complained of his demands, wrote in 1564, 'he is the most covetous man nature ever created, and to get money he would sell his own skin.'"¹³

It would be possible to add considerably to this testimony of contemporary witnesses on the subject of Titian's cupidity; but we have produced enough evidence to show what was the passion that inspired many of the acts of this successful artist.

It is not universally true that a man may be known by his friends; but certainly in judging a man's character and his credibility as a witness we may take into account those who were his most intimate friends over a long period of time. Titian was a member of a mutual advancement society known in Venice as the *Triumvirate*. The members of this powerful organization were Titian, Jacopo Sansovino and Pietro Aretino. Its aim was to dominate the literary and artistic life of the Republic. Aretino was the leading spirit in the *Triumvirate*; and he was Titian's bosom friend. "We have the fullest details of the intimacy between the two," writes Gronau, "from Aretino's letters, our principal source of information on Titian's life for nigh upon three decades. They called each other 'compare' — 'gossip' — but felt just as if they were brothers. 'Titian is to me another I.' . . . 'He is I and I am he.' . . . 'When I write to you, it is the same as if the letter were from Titian.'" ¹⁴

Thus Aretino describes his friendship with the artist. Titian was, in fact, a constant companion of this notorious rascal, who was a habitual slanderer and blackmailer. "Aretino," writes Molmenti, "was the embodiment of the corruption of the day, and concentrated in his own person all its shame and all its hypocrisy." ¹⁵ Each of the two *compari* frequently wrote begging letters to their princely patrons at a time when they themselves were living in great luxury in their palaces in Venice. It must be admitted that those letters that were penned by Titian surpassed, in their lush, fawning sycophancy, those written by his friend.

On reading the testimony of so many witnesses regarding Titian's extreme avariciousness, and taking into consideration the fact that he shared with his friend Aretino a habit of writing begging letters to his princely patrons in which he endeavored to excite their pity, we cannot but view with grave suspicion the artist's statement regarding his age in his letter of August, 1571, to Philip II. ¹⁶ That suspicion is deepened by the fact that in the year 1576, when writing to the same sovereign, he failed to mention the fact that he was, or was soon to become, a centenarian. ¹⁷ Surely Titian would have done this at such a time had he really been a hundred years old or well advanced in his hundredth year. It is a significant fact that in this letter Titian made no mention of his age.

The truth is that the old man knew that his end was near and had begun to make preparations for it. In the same year in which he wrote his last letter to Philip II, he planned to prepare for himself a tomb in the Cappella del Crocifisso in the Frari; and he was occupied in painting for that tomb the unfinished

Deposition which is now in the Academy at Venice. Is it fantastic to suppose that the reason why he did not state that he was a centenarian in this, his last begging letter to Philip, was that he hesitated, when on the verge of the grave, to tell a lie to his friendly patron? In view of all the evidence that we have as to Titian's character as a man, we cannot but conclude that Titian when past middle life was a very unreliable witness regarding his age and the date of his birth.

We have left to the last the consideration of the evidence as to Titian's birth date of the two Spanish agents in Venice, Garcia Hernandez, the Envoy of Philip II, and Thomas de Cornoça, the Spanish consul, for the reason that this testimony, as we shall show, is obviously of little value. Hernandez wrote a letter to his master on October 15, 1564, in which he stated that Titian begged that there should be paid to him certain sums that were then due. In this letter he recorded that, "according to some people who knew him, Titian was about ninety years old, though he did not show it."¹⁸ This assertion implies that according to some of his acquaintances, Titian was born in the year 1474. If this had been true, the artist would have been a hundred and two years old when he died! Thomas de Cornoça, in a letter written to the king on December 8, 1567, in which he reported one of Titian's customary appeals, states that Titian was over eighty-five years old. This assertion implies that the artist was born in or about the year 1482.

Fortunately we have evidence as to the kind of threats and inducements that were voiced by both Titian and Aretino when they were seeking to persuade the local representatives of foreign rulers to convey to their masters their appeals for money. That Titian, in the course of time, showed himself to be an apt pupil of the slanderer who was his most intimate friend is clear from a letter written on June 21, 1549, by Benedetto Agnella, the Mantuan ambassador in Venice.¹⁹ Titian had painted a portrait of Catherine, Duchess of Mantua. On learning that this portrait had reached its destination, Titian asked whether Agnella had been authorized to make any payment for it. On receiving a negative reply to his question, he proceeded to threaten calumnies more scurrilous than Aretino's if the Duke did not pay liberally for the picture. A man who was capable of uttering a threat like this merely to hasten the payment for a picture would certainly have regarded it as a venial offense to exaggerate his age when endeavoring to arouse the pity of a patron in a begging letter.

To arrive at any conclusions regarding the life of an artist, it is, of course, of the greatest importance not to neglect the evidence that can be derived from a study of his works. Professor Mather, one of the most recent writers in support of the opinion that Titian was born in the year 1477, has not altogether failed to do this. In fact he has stated, in his forcible presentation of his cause, that were he a lawyer stating a case he would rest his plea for the early date of Titian's birth on one of the master's pictures, that which is at Antwerp. "Feeling that," he adds, "unless someone could prove the votive altarpiece of Bishop Baffo was not a Titian or was painted many years later than 1502, I had proved my point."²⁰

I propose to show, however, that the Antwerp altarpiece could not have been painted before the second decade of the sixteenth century; for in it the artist reveals that it was designed under the influence of pictures by Palma Vecchio which were not finished until the year 1511. Titian's *Palmesque* period, we now know, did not begin until after his return from Padua in the winter of 1511-12.

Before we call attention to the picture at Antwerp and show how much it owes to Palma, we propose first of all to give a brief account of its history. This picture, like the *Madonna di Casa Pesaro* (Fig. 2) at the Frari in Venice, was painted to commemorate the greatest event in the life story of Jacopo Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos. In the year 1501 his patron, Pope Alexander VI, had appointed him Apostolic Legate in the war against the Turks; in June of the following year the Doge had delivered to Pesaro in San Marco his standard when he was about to take up his command in the fleet. In August, 1502, the Allies won the battle of Santa Maura. At some later date Pesaro commissioned Titian to paint this picture.

Cavalcaselle, in his *Life of Titian*, surmised that this picture could not have been painted after 1503, the date of the Pope's death, as "Alexander the Sixth, abhorred as he was by all classes of Italians, would scarcely have been introduced into any picture after his death on the 18th of August, 1503." When he made this assumption he cannot have realized the depth of Pesaro's devotion to his old patron and to the Borgia family. He apparently forgot when he wrote the above words that in Titian's great work, the *Pesaro Madonna*, which Jacopo Pesaro commissioned Titian to paint in 1519, the donor is represented kneeling under a flag which bears the arms of the Borgia pope.

Whether the picture at Antwerp be an ex-voto picture or whether it be a work commemorative of the victory of Santa Maura in no way affects the con-

clusion—a conclusion that is forced upon us by evidence derived from the picture itself—that this altarpiece cannot have been painted until several years after 1503. An ex-voto picture, we may remind our readers, was not begun until after the petition of its donor had been granted, and sometimes not until a considerably later date;²¹ and Jacopo Pesaro's gratitude to his patron never diminished as long as he lived. In his last will, which was written forty-two years after his patron's death, he left a legacy to defray the cost of masses that were to be said "per l'anima della felice recordatione di Alessandro Papa VI."²²

Now if we examine carefully this picture, we cannot but come to the conclusion that it was not painted until the second decade of the sixteenth century, until after the young Titian's return from Padua in the year 1512. It was then, as Gronau has shown, that his Palmesque period began. "In spite of the fact that Titian . . . far excelled Palma in artistic endowment, there is no doubt that, at a time when Titian's powers still lay dormant, the quiet, often fascinating beauty of Palma's works and their healthy contact with real nature, made a deep impression upon him. After the manner of true genius, he did not hesitate to take from others what was wanting in himself, to refashion it and give the impress of his own individuality."²³ Although the picture at Antwerp is by no means one of the more important of the works of Titian's Palma period, and although it has been justly criticized by some writers who, because of its immaturity have antedated it,²⁴ there is no work of Titian's whole *œuvre* which reveals more clearly, to those who know it intimately, the young artist's debt to Palma. In it he shows that he was unmistakably influenced, both in the composition and in one of the figures, as we shall presently show, by pictures of Palma that were not finished before the year 1512.

It was in the period that began after his return to Venice from Padua in the winter of 1511-1512 that Titian was much influenced by Palma Vecchio. The picture at Antwerp was designed after the artist had seen certain pictures by Palma which had been finished during his absence from Venice.²⁵ I refer to such works by Palma as *The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Donor* (Fig. 4) in Baron Thyssen's collection, and *The Virgin and Child with three Saints and a Donor* (Fig. 5), formerly in the Benson collection, a work which was afterwards in the collection of the ex-King of Yugoslavia. Titian borrowed the basic design of the Antwerp picture from Palma. In the figure of Jacopo Pesaro, too, he follows closely the representations of the donors in Baron Thyssen's altarpiece and the Benson picture.

In the last sixty years the picture from the Benson collection has been discussed by many art historians, all of whom agree that it was designed by Palma. At one time it was held by some of them that the picture had been finished by Cariani. The two leading critics that once favored this conclusion, Georg Gronau and Berenson, subsequently renounced it and came to regard the picture as being entirely by the hand of Palma. That it is an early work and of the same period as the fine altarpiece which is in the Thyssen collection is so obvious to a connoisseur that it is not necessary to give detailed reasons for this conclusion.

After obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the picture by Titian at Antwerp and noting, as Cavalcaselle taught us long ago, that the predominating influence in it is that of Palma, we cannot but be surprised that so discerning a critic as Professor Mather should write that "the style is in general Bellinesque and there is no suggestion of Giorgione's influence." The fact is that the only other considerable influence that can be discovered in it is that of Giorgione. As Charles Ricketts demonstrated, it is clearly evident "in the buttressing of the wall and the green curtain behind St. Peter, and in the abrupt action of the saint, with his rapid foot and hanging cloak."²⁶

Titian has been given the credit for a revolutionary change in the design of pictures representing the Madonna and a kneeling donor. In his account of the second picture that was commissioned by Jacopo Pesaro to commemorate the greatest event in his life, the victory of Santa Maura—I refer, of course, to the *Madonna di Casa Pesaro* at the Frari, a picture which was commissioned in 1519 but which was not finished until 1526²⁷ — Gronau writes as follows:

In this Pesaro Madonna he wrought as mighty a revolution as had ever been experienced in the history of the altar-piece. His genius enabled him boldly to break with the older form of strict composition. Whereas formerly the Madonna was enthroned in the centre and the saints grouped at regular distances to right and left, here the principal axis is pushed on one side. A diagonal line cuts through the composition and leads from the Madonna past the figure of Peter to the donor; on the right side a perpendicular line, having for its base the group of the donor's family, is taken through St. Francis' figure up to the Madonna. By this means, as the principal lines meet in the figure of the Madonna, she becomes the central point of the picture, even though she occupies a place to the right side of it."²⁸

It was Giovanni Bellini, I believe, who, in his picture *The Madonna and Child enthroned with St. Christopher, St. John Baptist and the Doge Mocenigo* (Fig. 9), first placed the Madonna on one side of the composition. This pic-



Fig. 5.
PALMA VECCHIO,
Virgin and Child with
Three Saints and a
Donor
Formerly London,
Benson Coll.



Fig. 6.
GIOVANNI BELLINI,
Madonna and Child
and Saints and a
Donor
New York,
Morgan Library



Fig. 7.
GIOVANNI BELLINI,
Madonna and Child
with St. John Baptist
(1516)
Padua



Fig. 8. TITIAN, *The Virgin appearing to St. Francis, St. Blaise and a Donor* (1520), Ancona



Fig. 9. GIOVANNI BELLINI, *The Madonna Enthroned with St. Christopher, St. John the Baptist and the Doge Mocenigo*
London, National Gallery

ture of ceremony however, while it is full of political significance, is one of the least satisfactory of the works of this great master. For he failed entirely to realize the possibilities of this novel composition. The picture in the National Gallery is not a unified work of art. The figures are detached and are ill-proportioned. The basic lines of the composition do not meet in the head of the principal figure, as they do in such works of Palma as the *Madonna and Child with Saints and a Donor* in the Thyssen collection. In Bellini's picture in London, that which should be the main purpose of the picture is, in fact, almost ignored; for this work is primarily a state portrait, a portrait of a proud Doge. The Doge does not bend forward in humble adoration of the Blessed Virgin and Her divine Son. He kneels bolt upright in the center of the picture, holding the staff of a banner which floats proudly above his head, the standard of his little State, the Republic of Venice. To adapt a sentence dear to contemporary journalists: "Mocenigo steals the show."

Thus, from an ideological point of view, Bellini's picture is wholly unsatisfactory. Palma made no such mistake. When he places the Blessed Virgin at the side of the composition, She is, nevertheless, the central figure of the picture. Palma, in short, gives us a unified design, full of spiritual significance. Titian, in his turn, adopted Palma's basic design, but as he did with all such borrowings, he allowed his own constructive imagination to be so aroused and stimulated that in the end, that which he had appropriated was transmuted into something far grander and more impressive.

The change, which was originated, I believe, by Palma and not by Titian, as Gronau claims, did not come suddenly. We find certain essential elements of it in an early work of the artist, a *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John Baptist and St. Jerome*, which is in the Museum der Schönen Künste at Budapest, a picture which was painted in 1506-1508.²⁹ In this picture the Madonna is seated at the left side of the composition and a line can be traced from the head of each kneeling saint to that of the Blessed Virgin.³⁰

Titian first adopted the basic idea of Palma's novel composition when he designed the Pesaro picture that is at Antwerp. Later on, in the second decade of the sixteenth century, in this other picture that Pesaro commissioned to commemorate the most important event in his public career, Titian used this motif to such purpose that he created a masterpiece of Venetian art. At the church of the Frari, Palma's original theme is magnificently developed and brilliantly orchestrated.

As Cavalcaselle clearly shows, the picture at Antwerp belongs to the same

period as *La Beltà disornata e la Beltà ornata*, commonly known today by the title *Sacred and Profane Love*. "In spite of abrasion and retouching," he writes, "the treatment in the Antwerp altarpiece is evidently the same as that of the allegory in the Borghese Palace," a picture which, it is now held, was painted in or about the year 1516.

Here the preponderant influence appears to be the influence of Palma Vecchio, which shows itself diversely in the form and treatment of drapery, in the blurred grain of skin contrasted with broad touch and brushwork in stuffs, and in scales of tints. Palmesque alike are the changes of warm fair lights to breaks of silver grey, merging into livid brown, and the careful blending of pigments of fluid texture. Equally prominent and striking are points of resemblance with the allegory of the Borghese Palace, such as the tones of whites and reds, the gloves, and defective drawing in the hands.³¹

It is to be noted that in both of these pictures we find a classical relief. That which decorates the low platform on which St. Peter sits enthroned in the Antwerp picture represents *The Worship of Cupid*. This subject owes its presence there to the fact that the kneeling donor was Bishop of Paphos, the island that was regarded, in classical mythology, as "the Sanctuary of Love."

It seems probable that the picture at Antwerp was begun about the year 1512; but it is possible that it was not finished until a later date, seeing that it clearly belongs to a time not very far distant from that of Titian's altarpiece at Ancona, *The Virgin appearing to St. Francis, St. Blaise and a Donor* (Fig. 8), a work which is dated 1520.³² The drawing of the drapery of St. Francis and the donor and the characteristic landscape in the picture at Ancona suggest that it is of the same period as the *St. Peter Enthroned* at Antwerp.

There are other elements in the Antwerp picture that indicate that it cannot have been painted in the years 1502-3. For example, the helmet in it is not a Gothic helmet but a headpiece of the period of the Renaissance, and is of a form that was not introduced into Italy until about the year 1505.³³ But we have, I think, produced sufficient evidence to prove that the picture at Antwerp belongs to Titian's Palmesque period which began in or about the year 1512 when Titian was about twenty-three years old.

In endeavoring to establish the correct date of Titian's birth and the chronology of his early life and at the same time to form a clear conception of the development of his style as an artist, we have sought to assess the relative value of the evidence on which our predecessors in this effort have

based their conclusions. We regard as of little importance in this case, the testimony of those later writers whose statements regarding the date of Titian's birth are clearly based on evidence which has no independent value. We have placed our reliance on the testimony of first-hand witnesses — men who knew Titian personally and who were acquainted with his most intimate friends. Of such witnesses, as we have pointed out, Vasari, his first biographer, is by far the most important; for not only did he know Titian and had corresponded frequently with the man who knew him best, he also visited Venice with the definite object of collecting material for his *Life* of this artist who had become so important a figure in Italian art. We have also studied closely the early works of the master for evidence of the influences that helped to form his style. We can now present a rational summary of the first thirty years of Titian's life.³⁴

Titian was born in or about the year 1489.³⁵ When he was nine years old he was placed by his father with Sebastiano Zuccato, who belonged to a family of workers in mosaic. Subsequently he entered the studio of Gentile Bellini, passing from there into that of Giovanni Bellini. In the year 1507 he became an assistant of Giorgione. So strong was the influence of that supreme artist on Titian that he became a faithful imitator of Giorgione in those early years, and his portraits, we are told, would have passed for works of this master. He assisted Giorgione in decorating with frescoes the exterior of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi in 1507 and 1508. In September, 1510, Giorgione died; in the following year Titian worked at Padua. Returning to Venice in the winter of 1511-12, he finished some of the works that Giorgione had left unfinished. He then falls under the dominating influence of Palma Vecchio. His Palmesque period lasted several years; but there still can be found in his works evidences of his close association with Giorgione, more especially in his portraits and in the landscape backgrounds of his other pictures. This formative period of Titian closes in the years 1516-18, when Titian painted in a novel style that was entirely his own the first of his great altarpieces, the *Assumption* of Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari, a work that was soon followed by the *Pesaro Madonna*.

- ¹ R. Langton Douglas, *Piero di Cosimo*, Chicago, 1944, p. 7.
- ² A. Durangues, "Matteo Bandello," *Revue de l'Agenais*, July-August, 1933, pp. 196, 197.
- ³ Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "When was Titian born?" *The Art Bulletin*, March, 1938, p. 21.
- ⁴ Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*, Florence, ed. 1735, p. 280.
- ⁵ Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- ⁶ Hans Tietze, *Tizian, Leben und Werk*, Vienna, 1936, p. 44.
- ⁷ Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- ⁸ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite . . .*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1881, Tomo VII, p. 459.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 427.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 428.
- ¹¹ J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian*, second edition, London, 1881, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 538. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give the text of these begging letters that Titian addressed to Philip II.
- ¹² Georg Gronau, *Titian*, London, 1904, pp. 221-224.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 220.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235.
- ¹⁵ Pompeo Molmenti, *Venice*, translated by Horatio F. Brown, Bergamo, 1907, Part II, Vol. II, p. 245.
- ¹⁶ Louis Hourticq, *La jeunesse de Titien*, Paris, 1919, p. 73. "Avec Titien quand une question d'intérêt est engagée, il faut toujours être défiant."
- ¹⁷ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II, Appendix, p. 541. The authors give the text of the letter in full.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 535. The authors print the text of the letter in full.
- ¹⁹ A. Luzio, "Spigolature Titianesche," *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, Anno III, 1890, p. 210. Molmenti quotes the passage that describes the interview, *op. cit.*, Part II, Vol. I, p. 190.
- ²⁰ Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- ²¹ William Suida, *Le Titien*, Paris, 1935, p. 23. Suida points out that this picture "n'a absolument pas le caractère d'un ouvrage de jeunesse de Titien." He believes that the Antwerp picture was begun about the year 1512 but was not finished until several years later.
- ²² Gronau, *Italianische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1911, Vol. IV, p. 133.
- ²³ Gronau, *Titian*, pp. 30, 31.
- ²⁴ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 78.
- ²⁵ Suida, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- ²⁶ Charles Ricketts, *Titian*, London, 1916, p. 30.
- ²⁷ Suida, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- ²⁸ Gronau, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
- ²⁹ There are three pictures that were painted in Giovanni Bellini's workshop in his last years in which the Virgin is seated on the left side of the picture. These pictures are: (1) the *Madonna and Child and Saints* (Fig. 6) in the Morgan Library; (2) the *Madonna and Child and a Donor* in the Ca'd' Oro at Venice; and (3) the *Madonna and Child with St. John Baptist* (Fig. 7) at Padua. The last-named work of this group is dated 1516, the year of Bellini's death.
- ³⁰ György Gombosi, *Palma Vecchio*, Stuttgart, Klassiker der Kunst Series, 1937, p. VIII, pl. 12a. Gombosi dates this picture 1506-8.
- ³¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 78.
- ³² Suida, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.
- ³³ Leandro Ozzola, "Il S. Pietro di Tiziano al Museo di Anversa e la sua data," *Bollettino d'Arte*, Anno XXVI, Fasc. II, Rome, August, 1932, p. 130.
- ³⁴ I shall be blamed, no doubt, by some critics who regard themselves as ultra-modern, for not pointing out that Titian was a "schizophrenic." I have, however, always avoided, I hope, the time-wasting error of emphasizing the obvious merely to demonstrate that I follow current fashions in literature.
- ³⁵ Cavalcaselle in later life renounced his opinion that Titian was born in the year 1477. In a note that he wrote for the second edition of *A History of Painting in North Italy*, he states that "there are reasons for believing that Titian's life was shorter than modern annalists have thought." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, London, 1912, Vol. III, p. 1, n. 2.

THE DINNER HORN BY WINSLOW HOMER

By E. P. RICHARDSON

WE are accustomed to think of Winslow Homer as the hermit of Prout's Neck, the painter of large and soberly heroic images of the sea. But this is Winslow Homer as he was in later life. Before he settled at Prout's Neck in 1882, at the age of forty-six, he lived for nearly twenty-five years in New York City and had made his reputation as one of the best of American genre painters. During this quarter century he had painted people primarily, not the impersonal forces of nature. During most of this time he earned his living by doing illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* and other publications. He was a pictorial reporter, not of the news events of the day but of the flavor of human life as he saw it in America. He found his subjects on the farms of New England and New York State, in the fashionable summer resorts along the Atlantic shore and among the woodsmen of the Adirondack frontier.

The generosity of Mr. Dexter M. Ferry, Jr., has added to our collection *The Dinner Horn* (Fig. 1), painted in 1873, which is, to my mind, one of the masterpieces of this earlier phase of Homer's art.¹ Large in drawing, simple and deep in idea, rich and luminous in color, subtle in tone, it has in small scale the monumental force of his style. It is one of the most cheerful of his pictures, radiating a sense of peace and happiness which makes it a painting of very great charm. It shows also another aspect of Homer's early work which comes as a surprise to most people, that is, his interest in femininity. As one admirable critic has observed, "Homer was one of the first to paint the American girl. . . . She has seldom had a more sympathetic and at the same time more honest interpreter. The works in which she figured, with their engaging mixture of naïveté and instinctive elegance, were the most delightful pictorial records of fashionable American country life of the period. Even more often he pictured a simpler kind of rural life. A haymaker in a sunlit meadow, pausing in the noon heat; a farmer's wife at a kitchen door blowing the dinner horn; a girl giving a young farmhand a drink of water from a tin dipper . . . plain, prosaic scenes from everyday country life, with no trace of the idealization of everything rural common among genre painters of the time."²

Fashions in art are varying and in our day many people are persuaded that it is impossible for an artist to show imagination if he works with images drawn from nature realistically observed. Homer was an objective realist. He despised the sentimentalization or idealization of nature or of people, despised

pictures in which an obvious interpretation by the artist took the place of the character and feeling inherent in the thing itself. It is therefore worth while, perhaps, to speak of the way in which Homer produced this sense of nature which makes his work seem so convincing and true.

Homer began painting rural American life in 1864. In the years succeeding the close of the war, he roamed in summer months through New England and New York State. *The Dinner Horn* is a distillation of what that observant and affectionate eye had learned of the character of American country life during these years of observation. It is formed of images drawn from two separate studies from nature. The first study of the porch appears in a small oil sketch, called *Shelling Peas* (Fig. 3), which now belongs to Cooper Union. It is the same porch, many of the same objects are there, the angle of the light is the same. It lacks, however, the distilled and concentrated intensity of the impression given by the other; it is good descriptive prose, but not yet poetry. The figure of the girl blowing a dinner horn appears first, however, in an illustration of *Harper's Weekly*, June 11, 1870, called *The Dinner Horn* (Fig. 2). The young figure already has the naïve grace which is so charming in the final work. Yet one's attention is distracted and the effect of the figure weakened by too many details, which are used to illustrate the theme too obviously. The idea of home is labored over and over again: the contented cat, the pot on the fire, the table set for dinner, the foot scraper, pile up repetitions of the same idea. The tiny figures in the fields waving their arms to show that they hear the horn and will soon be home are too far away and too small to make any effective pictorial contribution to the image.

All these labored and ineffectual details were eliminated when Homer returned to the theme three years later. The image which finally satisfied him seems artlessly unstudied, a single and straightforward observation of the hot sunlight pouring through the vines into the porch of a farm house, reflecting upward into the rafters, and touching the red dress of the young girl blowing the dinner horn to summon the men home from the fields for dinner. But the matchless freshness and naturalness of feeling, which gives the observer a sense of being there in person and feeling the warmth of the sun and hearing for himself the hum of summer, is not the result of a simple snapshot by a photographic mind. It is the product of careful study, followed by the simplifying and intensifying power of memory, reflection and artistic style, that result eventually in an image whose art totally conceals the art by which it was created. It would hardly be worth elaborating this point, if the relation of



*Fig. 1. WINSLOW HOMER, The Dinner Horn
Detroit Institute of Arts*



Fig. 2. WINSLOW HOMER, *The Dinner Horn*
From "Harper's Weekly," June 11, 1870



Fig. 3. WINSLOW HOMER, *Shelling Peas*
New York, Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration

artistic verity to nature were not now so misunderstood, at least in the field of painting. In much art criticism of today one finds the assumption that it is impossible for the artist who uses the method of realism to show imagination, which is, of course, nonsense. In literary criticism the relation to experience of realists like Dreiser, Hemingway, Lewis and Wolfe are not so great a mystery. At least, no one assumes that Hemingway's stories are merely the mechanical reportage of a photographic mind.

¹ Canvas: H. 11⁷/₈; W. 14¹/₄ inches. Signed on the porch rail at the right: HOMER 1873. The same porch appears in *Shelling Peas* (Fig. 3) in the Museum of Cooper Union, New York. The figure is the subject of a wood engraving in *Harper's Weekly*, June 11, 1870, p. 377. Collections: James Carr, New York City, who purchased it probably direct from the artist; Mrs. Clarence Crocker, his granddaughter, East Orange, N. J.; Mr. Stephen C. Clark, New York City. Gift of Dexter M. Ferry, Jr., 1947. I want also to express my indebtedness to Mr. Lloyd Goodrich for his generous readiness to share his great knowledge of Homer's life and work.

² Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer*, New York, 1944, p. 28.

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN AND
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REMBRANDT PEALE, *Portrait of Robert Fulton*
Detroit Institute of Arts

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THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

THE PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON

From an article by E. P. Richardson in the *Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3.

The *Portrait of Robert Fulton* by Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), given to our collection by the Ford Foundation, is a painting both of great historic interest and of outstanding artistic quality.

It is appropriate for Robert Fulton, one of the greatest of American inventors and engineers, to be represented in the museum of Detroit, a city which stands pre-eminently for the engineering and technological skill of America. For Fulton was a great engineer, whose work shaped the history of the nineteenth century and whose influence is still felt today. In the de-bunking period of American thought, the importance of his work was cried down because he was not the first man to build a steamboat. This, however, is a misunderstanding of his achievement. The idea of the steamboat had been in the air for a generation when Fulton became interested in it. His achievement was to solve the series of technical problems which had baffled all previous experimenters: to settle on and perfect the method of propulsion by paddle wheels, the size and design of the boat, and the relation of the power plant to the size of the hull. Before the "Clermont," Fulton and the others who had struggled with the problem were building interesting experimental models which showed that it *ought* to be possible to design a practicable steamboat to replace sail, able to carry a commercial load of freight and passengers. Fulton was the one who did it. From the moment the "Clermont" made its first trip from New York to Albany on August 17, 1807, steamboat navigation was a reality. Moreover, in his design of the "Clermont," Fulton showed extraordinary originality. He abandoned the existing tradition of ship building and invented a new kind of hull, from which sprang the American flat-bottomed river steamer which was something entirely new in the history of navigation. He was equally original in the arrangements for carrying passengers. He designed for the "Clermont" a series of bunks in two tiers, parallel to the length of the hull, and enclosed by curtains, which was so successful that it was later adopted by the railroads of this continent and still exists in the familiar Pullman car. The European railroad coach, on the contrary, was derived from the stage coach and developed into the compartment car.

Robert Fulton was born on a farm in Little Britain township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1765. His father died when he was a boy of three, leaving his mother with five small children to support. But poverty and lack of education were powerless to hold back the gifted, attractive boy. At seventeen he moved to Philadelphia to seek his fortune as a portrait painter and in four years earned enough to establish his mother on a small farm. In 1786 he went to London to study under West. In 1791 and 1793 he exhibited pictures at the Royal Academy and in 1793 at the Society of Artists. But just as a career as a painter seemed to be opening for him, he abandoned it. England was in the midst of the industrial revolution and the farm boy from Lancaster County suddenly found canal building, steam engines, and the advancing, experimental front of technological development much more interesting than painting. His first attempts at designs for canal locks, canal boat elevators, canal excavating machines, were those of a naïve amateur. But in ten years of struggle Fulton made himself into a skillful engineer, and his skill in pictorial delineation was of great advantage to him. In 1794 he went to Paris where Joel Barlow, the American



Apsara from cave temples at Lung Men
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ANDREA DELLA ROBbia, *The Annunciation*
Los Angeles County Museum

minister, took him into his household and treated him like a son. To support himself he introduced the panorama into Paris. In 1797 his interest turned to experiments in submarine navigation and torpedo warfare. Although he actually built a submarine torpedo boat in which he navigated the coastal waters around Brest in search of a British warship to blow up, he failed to convince Napoleon of the value of his invention. In 1803, therefore, he went back to England and tried to interest the British Admiralty. Although two of his submarines were actually tried by the British navy against Napoleon's invasion fleet, the admirals refused to adopt the invention, for they saw quite rightly that, if perfected, it would be more dangerous to their own fleet than to any other power. In the meantime Fulton had also been working on the problem of the steamboat and had interested Chancellor Livingston in his project. After the failure of his hopes of the submarine and marine torpedo, Fulton returned to America and, with Livingston's backing, built the first steamboat, the "Clermont," on the Hudson River, in 1807.

Our portrait shows him shortly after this date, at the height of his career. Although it is impossible to give an exact date, it must have been painted within the years 1808 to 1811, that is at the age of forty-three to forty-six. Charles Willson Peale painted Fulton for his Museum of American celebrities in 1807. In that portrait (which is now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia) Fulton wears a ruffled neck cloth of the style that immediately preceded the knotted style shown in our portrait. The Detroit portrait is a brilliant example of Rembrandt Peale's style at his finest period, which followed his two visits to Paris (April-November, 1808, and summer of 1809 to November, 1810) where he went to study in the Louvre and to paint the portraits of French scholars and artists for the Museum.

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EDGAR DEGAS, *Portrait of Mlle. Hortense Valpinçon*
Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Rembrandt Peale's contact with the French neo-classical portrait style is written plainly in this portrait. The fresh and glowing flesh tints, which make it one of his most attractive works, recall his own enthusiastic description of what he had learned in Paris, which is quoted in Sellers' fascinating life of C. W. Peale: "My tints," he boasted, "surpass the fairest complexion and equal what the imagination can conceive . . . To create flesh is no longer difficult. To modify it with color, light or shadow is no longer tedious—consequently any principal attention may be directed to character and beauty."

This portrait can be dated presumably in the spring of 1809 or soon after November, 1810. It shows in Fulton that handsome, magnetic and attractive character which had much to do with his ultimate success, for he was a man who attracted friendship and support by sheer personal magnetism. A contemporary description, quoted by a recent biographer, reads like a description of our portrait: "Among a thousand individuals you might readily point out Robert Fulton. He was conspicuous for his gentle, manly bearing and freedom from embarrassment, for his extreme activity, his height—somewhat over six feet—his slender yet energetic form and well accommodated dress, for his full and curly brown hair, carelessly scattered over his forehead and falling around his neck. His complexion was fair, his forehead high, his eyes dark and penetrating and revolving in a capacious orbit of cavernous depths; his brow was thick and evinced strength and determination; his nose was long and prominent, his mouth and lips were beautifully proportioned, giving the impress of eloquent utterance. Trifles were not calculated to impede him or damp his perseverance."

To these qualities as a man we might add Dickinson's judgment of him: "As a worker he opened out new fields for human activity. He was a born engineer of the same type as James Watt



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NORTH ITALIAN, c. 1490-1520, St. John, the Virgin, and Mary Magdalene
Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery



and Thomas Telford, who had no greater amount than he of early training in the direction of their future careers. To mention as the offspring of Fulton's genius only the first workable submarine torpedo boat, the first commercially practicable steam vessel, and the first steam-propelled warship, is to entitle him to a place among the giants of the engineering profession. His early death and the fact that others entered into and benefited by his labours have tended to obscure the greatness of his achievements."

This portrait came from the possession of Miss Creuger, of Creuger's Island in the Hudson, who was a great-grandniece of Fulton and great-granddaughter of Chancellor Livingston. It was purchased from her by Louis Van Bergen of Coxsachie, from whom it passed through Knoedler and Company to the collection of Edsel B. Ford. The Ford Foundation has now made a gift of it from the estate of Mr. Ford, to our collection, where it will become widely known, I believe, as a masterpiece of American historical portraiture and a historical document of richly interesting associations.

"THE ANNUNCIATION" BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

By W. R. Valentiner

The Annunciation by Andrea della Robbia is one of the great works of early Italian sculpture that have come to this country. Known to many visitors to the San Francisco World's Fair of 1939, where it was first exhibited, it had been hidden for centuries in a small church at Florence, the Oratory of the Souls in Purgatory (also called the little church of S. Nicoló), where it had escaped the research of famous Della Robbia students of the last generation, W. von Bode, Maude Cruttwell, Paul

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Schubring, and Allan Marquand (Marquand gives a short description after the article of De Nicola in his two volumes on Andrea della Robbia, No. 298, but has obviously not seen the original), until it was rediscovered by the Italian scholar, Giacomo de Nicola, and in 1919 published without illustration in the *Burlington Magazine*.

This masterpiece of Andrea della Robbia, which came to the Los Angeles County Museum as a gift of William Randolph Hearst, was done at the time Andrea was still closely associated with his uncle and teacher, Luca. It is, moreover, so close to Luca's style and sentiment that we may question whether it was not from his terracotta sketch that these life-size figures were executed (Virgin, 65" high; Angel, 62" high. Not pictured here are small accessory figures of God the Father, 17½" high, and the symbolic Dove, 10½" wide), especially in view of certain technical details which point to Luca, as we shall see presently. We should, however, not underrate the art of Andrea who was not only a follower of his uncle, as he is so often described, but also an artist of great ability and originality. His reputation has unjustly suffered from the fact that he belonged to a younger generation of a family whose first member brought the art of glazed terracotta in sculpture to perfection, and also from the fact that three of Andrea's sons began to commercialize the original and individual ideas of both himself and his great master, Luca.

While Luca belonged to the generation of Donatello and Fra Angelico, who expressed their emotions in simplified monumental forms with naïve sincerity and realistic directness, Andrea followed with equal intensity and imagination the ideas of his epoch, which were those of Verrocchio and Botticelli. Like them he strove with more consciousness and less realism for an expression of physical charm in a subtle, decorative style of great refinement. This tendency, which also affected the young Leonardo, often led its adherents to the expression of worldliness and prettiness in the rendering of religious subjects, *diminishing* thereby their spiritual level; but this was not so in the case of Andrea della Robbia, whose devoutness was perhaps even greater than Luca's, increased as it was by an ascetic fervor characteristic of many late Gothic masters. Both Luca and Andrea were deeply religious, as we learn from contemporary documents. Luca became a monk at one time, later returning to his family who needed his support. Andrea belonged to the *piagnoni*, the ardent followers of Savonarola, and for this reason, after the death of the monk, was deprived of holding public office for two years. Two of his sons became monks in S. Marco, another was a lay brother in this cloister, and two of his daughters became nuns in the Dominican convent of S. Lucia.

Andrea della Robbia (1435-1525) may be called one of the last Gothic sculptors in Italy, although his artistic production persisted far into the century of the Renaissance. *The Annunciation* continues his best qualities, and his medieval piety, with the extraordinary sense for beauty and grace of the approaching Renaissance. The Gothic spirit is conspicuous in the figure of the Virgin, whose body is swayed in an S-curve, resting insecurely on the ground like all Gothic statuary. Medieval also is the disappearance of her small and evanescent body behind a mass of drapery, whose lines seem to lift her up towards heaven from the narrow base. The new tendencies are expressed in the finely modeled forms of her body, visible even under the heavy garments, and especially in her face and the realistically treated and beautifully executed hands. The modest humility expressed in the slightly inclined head and her left hand pressed to her breast have an individuality and consciousness which is again more modern than medieval. The arms of the Virgin placed parallel and diagonally in front of



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her body seem to be directed towards the onrushing diagonal lines of the robust and youthful Angel, whose lively movement contrasts vividly with her quiet and retiring pose. It is as if his strong motion has come to a sudden stop in the awareness of the touching devotion with which she anticipates his message; he looks at her with large, astonished eyes and folds his hands in prayer, even before his steps have come to a standstill.

The white glaze which completely covers the figures has the soft, creamy tone of the early Della Robbia works; only the bases on which they are standing are enlivened by a gray-blue color. The eyes and eyebrows are marked with that gray and violet which, as Allan Marquand rightly observes, is characteristic of the eyes of Luca's faces, while Andrea's have yellow or hazel eyes, and those of his son, Giovanni, black eyes. This description of the eyes of Luca's figures fits our group completely: "In indicating the eyes he always distinguishes the pupil and iris, never combining them in a single black mass. The iris is almost invariably gray blue for the Madonna and Child. . . . The eyebrows he colored by irregular dots or hatchings of violet or dark blue. Of the same color are the eyelashes, the iris boundary and the pupil. Andrea's and Giovanni's method of coloring the eyes are quite different and readily to be distinguished" (A. Marquand, *Luca della Robbia*, Princeton, 1914, p. xxxi).

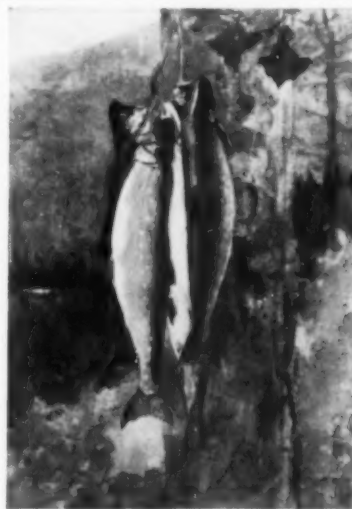
An unusual color is the yellow of the Virgin's nimbus (the Angel's is missing); but this color had already appeared in some of Luca's Madonnas, for instance in the one of Or San Michele, where the hair of Madonna and Child is yellow, replacing, as in our case, the gold.

The composition is nearest in style to Andrea's early altarpiece in La Verna, representing the Annunciation, which can be dated about 1475. Here we find—as in our composition—the Madonna placed on the left, the Angel on the right, while in all other Annunciations by Andrea the position of the figures is reversed. Marquand remarks that the position of the figures in La Verna corresponds obviously to an idea of Luca's, as do other elements in this altarpiece.

Very similar to our group are the type and pose of the Virgin in La Verna, with her left hand against her breast; and the curls and praying hands of the Angel can also be compared to our own. But while our figures are standing, in La Verna the Madonna sits and the Angel kneels, an arrangement found in nearly all Annunciations by Luca and Andrea. The only exceptions are the two figures of an Annunciation placed in niches next to the altar of the Osservanza at Siena (ca. 1480). They, too, stand, but they differ from our figures in that they are modeled fully in the round, to fit well, therefore, into the depth of the niches. The Angel is characterized by a quiet, stationary attitude instead of the fast motion suggested by our figure. This latter movement appears again in the small composition of the predella of the Osservanza altarpiece, which justifies us therefore in dating our group in the same period as the La Verna and Osservanza altarpieces (1475-1480).

We are less certain, however, in suggesting the background and frame which originally surrounded our figures. As they are erect, it would seem plausible that they were placed in niches, but since they are not fully rounded but in high relief, the niches may have been only slightly curved. In addition, the Angel would have taken up considerably more space than the Madonna. It is also not easy to relate the figures of the Dove and God the Father, which belong with the group, to the Madonna towards whom they are directed, except on the premise that they were originally situated outside the niche and on the wall.

The position in which the group was shown in S. Nicolò was not the original intention, as De Nicola has pointed out. The statues were moved to this church in 1763, when a new altar of



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the Annunciation was erected. Probably they came from the nearby Palazzo Tempi where, according to a guide to Florence of 1677, "at the head of the staircase on the wall, a most beautiful Annunciation with the angel can be seen, the figures a little less than life-size, in low relief by Luca della Robbia." The rarity of such large figure groups produced by the workshop of Luca and Andrea indicates quite conclusively that this group is identical with ours. But neither was it in its original place in the Palazzo Tempi, when it was built into the wall at the head of the stairway. It is more conceivable, as De Nicola suggested, that it adorned a private chapel in the old Palazzo di Bardi, which was completely restored by the Tempi family.

"PORTRAIT OF Mlle. HORTENSE VALPINÇON"

BY DEGAS

From an article in the March 6, 1948, *Bulletin* of the
 Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

With the acquisition of Degas' celebrated portrait of *Mlle. Hortense Valpinçon*, the Institute has added one of the most illustrious names in the history of art to the list of those represented in its collections. Misjudged, underestimated, and almost unknown until some years after his death, Degas has now emerged not only as one of the greatest draughtsmen of all time, but as an inventor of subject and composition, an impassioned lover of movement and reality, and a psychological portraitist unequalled in the modern school of painting. It was of his gifts in the latter field that the world remained longest unaware. Degas' portraits represent the most intimate and jealously guarded aspect of his art. They stemmed from his affection for his intimates—an affection never lightly given—and were done solely for his own pleasure and for that of his friends and family. Thus it was not until the sale of his collection after his death in 1917 that the world knew of them, and not until the great exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris in 1924 that one could begin to estimate Degas' prodigious achievement in this field of painting. Thereafter it became evident that he had for many years been displaying in his practice of portraiture the same mastery of draughtsmanship and composition that distinguished his work in other fields. To all those who have thought of Degas only as a painter of ballet dancers, race course scenes, and female nudes, the portraits will be a revelation and a delight.

That of *Mlle. Hortense Valpinçon* is a superb example. It is generally agreed that it was painted during the Commune, when Degas spent several weeks with his friend Paul Valpinçon, Hortense's father, at the Valpinçon country house at Méné-Hubert (Orne). This would put it in the year 1871, when Degas had developed his individual style of portraiture; a style that was still close to Ingres but that showed greater interest in modeling and a manner of composition quite different from that to be found in the earliest portraits; a manner, moreover, of which Ingres would certainly not have approved.

Degas painted the young Hortense without ceremony. She is shown leaning easily on one end of a table draped with a black woolen coverlet embroidered in bright colors. At the opposite end of the table some hanks of wool and a piece of tapestry worked in somber hues spill from a basket. The child is wearing a black frock that is almost covered by a white, sleeved apron and, around her shoulders, a cashmere shawl that is knotted at the hips in back. Under a pert little hat of yellow straw, bound and banded with black velvet ribbon, her face is adorable—and calculating. Shall she or shall she not risk Degas' displeasure by eating the quarter of an apple which she holds in her right hand? We know, through a recollection of Madame

Jacques Fourchy, Hortense, née Valpinçon, that Degas had given her four quarters of an apple to serve as a reward for good behavior during the sitting. She had already disposed of the other three, but this time, apparently, she was good, for here we have her, captured forever, a warm-spirited and only normally mischievous child in whom Degas has seen a strongly individual personality and through whom he has yet suggested, in some mysterious fashion, the essence of all little French girls in a happy home.

Degas' gift for conveying so powerfully the character of an individual was partly the result of his demand that his sitters assume natural and familiar attitudes in habitual surroundings. The success to be derived from this insistence on the normal is strikingly evident in the portrait of *Mlle. Hortense Valpinçon*. Degas has suggested perfectly, in the informal pose and the alert and intelligent face of the child; in the pale, flowered wallpaper; in the fabrics on the table and the light sifting into the room, the fundamental character and quality of his subject and her milieu. So might he have found her on entering from another room. He has analyzed her personality so acutely, and done it with such scrupulous objectivity, that he has left no barrier between her and the spectator. One knows her, and, like Degas, finds her enchanting.

It is notable that the success of the portrait as a psychological study in no way depends upon voluptuous color or fruity pigment. The modeling of the face, the figure standing freely in space, and the brushwork—still smooth but richer than in earlier works—are reinforced by Degas' daring manner of composing. Influenced possibly by his interest in Japanese prints and possibly by his study of certain old masters, he formed the habit of placing the principal figures in his compositions off center, thus creating a precarious equilibrium that would have been disas-

trous in hands less sure or directed by a mind less lucid. In the portrait of *Mlle. Hortense Valpinçon* the child stands at the far right of the canvas with her figure cut off short at mid-calf. The table with its black coverlet occupies a disproportionate amount of space, but the disposition of light and dark areas—the whites are dazzling against the black—and the play of light on fabric and wall, bind the composition into a brilliant whole. The vivacious line of black defining the back of the figure and the fringed ends of the shawl have been the subject of some speculation. It is possible that Degas was not satisfied with the limitation of contour and planned to change it. He frequently did this, for he was that uneasiest of all men, a perfectionist. According to Madame Fourchy, he insisted that he had not finished the portrait, but Paul Valpinçon, knowing his habit of reworking his pictures, declared that it was perfect as it was and took it from him. It remained in the Valpinçon collection, and later in that of Madame Fourchy until the late 1920's. It was first shown at the Galerie Georges Petit and since that time has appeared in numerous important exhibitions of Degas' work in both Europe and the United States.

AN IMPORTANT GOTHIC SCULPTURE GROUP IN THE ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

The Albright Art Gallery has acquired an unusually distinguished group of three almost life-size sculptures, representing the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene at the Entombment of Christ. Formerly in the private collection of the sculptor Miss Gertrude Whitney, the donor of the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, this important group comes from North Italy and was executed in the late fifteenth century or early six-

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teenth century, about 1490-1520. Originally the group was larger and included the figure of the dead Christ with, perhaps, other figures to right and left. So far as is known this is the only group sculpture of the kind in America. The material is terracotta with traces of gilding and paint still remaining on the surface.

Late Gothic in style, the Gallery's sculptures are believed to have come from an *Entombment* in Padua or Ferrara in North Italy. Terracotta groups depicting the Entombment are still in existence in churches there. North Italy had close contact with Germany, France and Flanders. North Italian artists reflected in their style of workmanship these various currents from Northern Europe. In our group there is felt to be a strong influence in style from France. In contrast to the violent emotionalism of Gothic sculpture influenced by Germany or the Low Countries (the North Italian sculptor Guido Mazzoni is the best known example) the emotion expressed in our statues, while as deeply spiritual as any, is more restrained, as in actual French groups. The scene of the Entombment is presented more as a meditation over the tragedy of Christ's death than as an enactment of an historical event. One might describe the difference as that between the words of the liturgy and the lines of a Passion Play written in the vernacular. Nevertheless there is realism, or rather, individualism in the heads of our St. John and Mary Magdalene. In the features of the former there is an expression of touching pity and grief; the Magdalene is almost demure, and charming in a doll-like way. More traditional, the figure of the Virgin is reminiscent of late Gothic Madonnas, yet anticipates Our Lady of Sorrows as she is represented by later Renaissance masters.



Portrait of Bianca Cappello Angelo Allori Bronzino (1502-1572)
(Size 25 x 22 inches)

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"REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT"
BY ORAZIO GENTILESCHI

The City Museum and Art Gallery of Birmingham, England, recently acquired an important work by the painter Orazio Gentileschi (1562-1647). Though born in Pisa, after his seventeenth year he traveled widely in Italy and spent some thirty years in Rome. In 1625 he was invited to England by Charles I, and died in London in 1647.

The Birmingham picture represents the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Formerly in the collection of Miss Emily Talbot of Margam Castle, sold at Christie's in 1941, it was purchased by the City of Birmingham at the recent sale of the Duchess of Kent. There are two other known versions of the picture. One is in the Louvre; in this version there is no donkey and the treatment of the draperies is different. The picture was in the collection of Charles I. The other version, which is signed, is, or was, in the Staatsgalerie, Vienna. In that picture there is no landscape background and no donkey.

A NEW WINSLOW HOMER IN THE
NATIONAL GALLERY

An important American painting by Winslow Homer, *Hound and Hunter*, has recently been given to the National Gallery of Art by Mr. Stephen C. Clark of New York. With the acquisition of this picture, the National Gallery can now show Homer as a painter of Adirondack hunting scenes as well as of seascapes.

Hound and Hunter shows a young hunter lying full-length in the bottom of an Adirondack guide boat, grasping both antlers of a deer he has just shot while turning to watch the approach of a hound seen swimming in from the left.

The summer and early fall of the years 1891 and 1892 Homer



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VI 140 pp., cloth. L., \$4.80

Published August 22nd, 1947, the day of the author's 70th birthday

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spent in the Adirondacks painting scenes of wild animal life, trapping and deer hunting. *Hound and Hunter*, finished in 1892, is one of the outstanding achievements of this period. According to John Walker, Chief Curator of the National Gallery, "Homer had an ambitious scheme for this particular painting. It was to have been published first in *Harper's Weekly*, then as a popular print, and then exhibited in Boston for sale at two thousand dollars. The scheme was not carried out and the painting did not come to its first owner until 1902, when Homer had already gained recognition as one of the most eminent of American painters.

"Homer himself was very proud of *Hound and Hunter*. He wrote his brother Charles that the canvas was a great work and referred to the fact that he had spent more than a week painting the hunter's hands. The care with which the painting was executed has not, however, lessened its vigorous actuality. It is a masterpiece of dramatic painting, as colloquial and American in feeling as the stories of Mark Twain or of Ernest Hemingway."

"THE FINDING OF MOSES" BY SALVATOR ROSA

From an article by Paul L. Grigaut in the *Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3.

In the 60's of the seventeenth century, at the height of his powers, Salvator Rosa, by then working "only for kings and princes," painted for the head of the ancient Roman house of Colonna several pictures which rank among his masterpieces. Particularly notable, according to his biographer, Lady Morgan, were "two sublime St. Johns," and two pendants, surprisingly dissimilar in subject matter although not in style or size: *Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman* and *Moses Found by Pharaoh's Daughter*. For more than a century, Rosa's paintings remained undisturbed on the walls of the Colonna Palace. Then, along with other important works from the Colonna Gallery, "the most Magnificent and most Famous in Rome," the two "histories" were bought by a shrewd *marchand-amateur*, William Young Ottley, who brought them to England and, without losing any time, sold them at Christie's in 1801. Ottley well knew his compatriots' taste for what Lady Morgan, the most unreliable of biographers, I am sorry to say, but also the most enthusiastic, admiringly called Salvator's "desolate and dreary landscapes . . . of savage sublimity and the most noble repose." After a few changes of ownership, *Mercury and the Woodman*, which for Ottley was a greater picture than the *Moses* (the latter, he said, "had not equal sublimity of invention"), was acquired by the London National Gallery. *The Finding of Moses*, accurately called in the Ottley catalogue "A Landscape—a rocky Scene, with a distant View of a Volcano," which is what the painting really is, went to the third Earl Temple, later Marquess of Buckingham, for 1500 guineas, the second highest price in the sale. "This picture," the auctioneer declared, "whether we consider the grandeur of Conception, power of Execution, or unparalleled Preservation, may justly be deemed one of the most wonderful Efforts of the Pencil." It is this *Moses*, one of the monuments of baroque art in America, which the Detroit Institute of Arts recently acquired for its collections through the generosity of two of its most thoughtful donors, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb.

Salvator Rosa was a colorful artist, *un homme universel*, a humanist of the Renaissance doubled with a Byronic hero, who had to fight harder than most for recognition in a world he despised. Today he is remembered only as a painter. Yet he was also a great patriot in his native Sicily, and became, according to Lady Morgan, one of Masianello's Companions of Death; a poet and actor in Florence, at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in Rome he was one of the most original etchers of

his time and an excellent musician whose works Dr. Burney brought to England. We must discard, I am afraid, the stories of Salvator's stay among Calabrese bandits and monks, which gave him additional fame in the eighteenth century of the *Castle of Otranto* and Mason's *English Garden*; but, "all bite, spirit and fire," "a despiser of wealth and death," as he described himself, there is no doubt that he was a sensitive, embittered artist, a self-trained philosopher whose house on the Pincio was, at the time when he painted the Colonna pictures, the meeting place of the Roman intellectuals.

The Ottley catalogue was hardly exaggerating: the Institute's *Moses* is for many reasons a very great Italian landscape. Exquisite and complex, its color orchestration gives our picture its immediate, unconscious appeal. Transposing all that it touches upon into a slightly lower key than nature, a silvery and pearly coolness pervades the entire landscape, gives it an eery quality, creates enchanting atmospheric effects, makes shadows transparent and rocks luminous. There are subtle oppositions of warm brown against cool blue tones, and—in the group of women by the brackish waters of the brook—bold contrasts of vibrant yellow, pure blue and emerald-green; but everywhere greens and browns tend towards grays, yellow softens into a pale gold, and the memory one keeps of the *Moses* is that of the chromatic richness of its grays, of a soft opalescent veil spread over beautifully graduated distances. Our picture is what the French critics of the seventeenth century called a *paysage pensé*, an imaginary landscape which the painter composed according to classical canons, but without ceasing to be true to nature; or rather as purists had it, to "probable" nature. Everything is in the place which it must occupy in a pre-established, ideal order of composition. *Repoussoirs*, a dark, decayed trunk at the left, a fallen branch at the right, balance each other at both ends of the composition; the "three distances" of the classicists—extreme distance, foreground and middle distance—are here, making the painting an "elegant" one according to Poussin's theories. Two or three gnarled trees, spreading themselves in a decorative pattern, grew so conveniently that their branches complete the unifying curve formed by the high lights of the rocks, the silvery lining of the storm clouds and the standing girl in her striking lavender dress; and, forming a harmonious and statuesque group, Pharaoh's daughter and her retinue are where they should be, in the lighted section of the "structure." With its apparent simplicity, its effortless linking together of many elements, its majestic conception of nature, the *Moses* is a good example of the classical landscape painter's ideal: for Salvator Rosa as for Poussin, to look at Nature was "an office of reason."

But Rosa is also a romanticist, with an uncomplicated vision of romanticism to be sure, a baroque painter who follows the basic creed of baroque art: the vehement expression of movement. Although executed with love, at a time when Salvator, who wanted to be remembered only as a "historical" painter, refuted the "fantastic humour" that he ever could be a landscape painter, the group formed by Pharaoh's daughter and her court, plump Sicilian *contadine* on a picnic, plays an unimportant, almost ludicrous, part in the painting. The real characters are the trees, the rocks, the clouds. From being simply a drop scene, a background for a pseudo-biblical story, nature becomes an integral part of the drama; in fact it becomes the drama itself. The subject of the *Moses* is Dante's *selva selvagge*; it is the fight of natural objects against nature, of skeletal trees dancing in the wind "in spasms of half-human pain," as Ruskin said, of decayed rocks precariously hanging over menacing waters, of low volcanic clouds bursting in infinite space or falling on we do not know what Cities of the Plain burning in the sun. We are far from Claude's ideal of pastoral repose, from the idyllic, clearly

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

FLEXNER, James Thomas. *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*. Boston, 1947. 368 pp., illus. \$10.00.

The first requisite for the study of early American painting is sympathy; the second is a sense of proportion. Both these qualities Mr. Flexner has in profusion. He possesses others, almost as important, in the case of an admittedly "popular" art book, as the other two. He has seen his subject as a whole and, though usually enveloping each of his generalities with pleasing, carefully chosen Tainian *petits faits purs*, never lets us forget that he is a social historian. *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* is really what its subtitle implies: a book about "The Pioneers and their Painters." That Mr. Flexner has been able, as he hoped, to show "the relationship between life in America and the long tradition of American painting" without sacrificing one to the other, is no mean feat.

The book has many traits which will appeal to the intelligent general public. It is lucid and extraordinarily readable. In spite of the tremendous amount of research, the checking and re-checking which was involved, it is written without a trace of pedantry or dogmatism. Every page is brightened by unhackneyed and apt quotations, as well as by similes which the reader, according to his taste, will find either exasperating or full of common sense. Rhetoricians may claim that Mr. Flexner goes too far in many ways when, explaining Thomas Smith's part in the development of 18th century American painting, he makes his point clearer by saying that Smith "rewrote the string quartets of the British court painter, Sir Peter Lely, for some wild back country instrument"; but no doubt most laymen will have a clearer idea of Jacques Le Moyne's career because Mr. Flexner compared him to a *Life* correspondent.

The specialist in early American art will evidently have mixed feelings. But once he accepts the purpose of the book — to show that "early American art [was] a valid expression of early American life" — he should also accept the limitations which such an aim imposes upon the writer. The most glaring of these limitations is what seems at times like oversimplification. Is it quite true, for instance, that "Queen Elisabeth, herself, disliked the art of the Renaissance"? or that "the art of the French Revolution fled under the leadership of David into archaism"? Is it possible that Dr. Jacob de Lange, although he was the outstanding collector in Dutch-New York, should have had so much "porcelain" in his East India cupboard, or that John Foster himself should have designed and cut the very European-looking woodcut illustrated on page 26? But such oversimplifications, or unexpected statements (for instance those on the "frank sensuality" of Robert Feke's visions, which still retained "the innocence of adolescence") are few and do not detract from the extreme interest of a book which this reviewer read with pleasure, admiration and envy. One may differ sometimes from Mr. Flexner's interpretations (i.e., in the case of the Smibert *Self-Portrait* in the Berkeley group); it is always with the healthy feeling that one may be wrong.

At first reading, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* may seem to be "Early American art in eleven easy lessons." But it is far more than that. As is so often true of the best of these works written for a wide reading public, the obvious scholarship that went into the making of the book is left for the notes, which alone would form a valuable contribution to the subject. And even in the text, as I hope I made clear, there are numberless excellent sections: the pages on Puritanism or on the effects of English influence on early portrait painting in the colonies, the conclusion of Chapter III (on the Patroon painters), the ex-

tremely important chapter on "Painting in all its Branches," must necessarily change many of our opinions or crystallize others.

American Print Prices Paid. Edited by Richard B. Holman. Boston, 1948. 65 pp. \$6.00.

This book will prove a very useful tool to all American print collectors, but especially to the small collectors who, it should be said, have often been overlooked by print dealers. It is a list of the prices obtained by *all* prints which were sold, at New York auctions in 1946-47, for more than five dollars. The plan of the book is sound and clear; the excellent introduction, with its shrewd comments on the print market, forms a frank statement of a sordid and most important topic to which "proper" authors seldom refer. Going through the list, one cannot but be astonished at the discrepancies between the fame, and often the beauty, of many prints such as those by McBey or Cameron, and the pitifully low prices they fetched last year at auctions. There is still a great deal to do to educate the American public towards a better appreciation of print collecting such as it exists in Europe, and this is a step in the right direction. But comparing prices brought by many sorts of prints fifteen or twenty years ago and those they brought in 1946-47, one realizes that the print dealer's lot is not a happy one.

National Gallery Illustrations: British School. London, National Gallery. 12 shillings, sixpence.

The National Gallery has begun a new series of volumes of illustrations with the British School. In the same format as the preceding series, cloth bound, its 200 illustrations give an excellent survey of British painting and are invaluable as a reference volume on the National Gallery. As the collection of paintings at Trafalgar Square varies with the transfer of paintings to and from the Tate, the basis of selection was to illustrate the paintings at the National Gallery in August, 1946. It is a minor flaw that the list therefore does not correspond, in all details, with Mr. Martin Davies excellent catalogue of the British School (1946), which would have offered a more logical basis of selection of the illustrations and saved the student some trouble.

Bergeret de Grancourt: *Voyage d'Italie.* Paris, 1948. 155 pp. 33 pls.

The *récits* of French travelers to Italy are not as well known in the United States as they deserve to be. The *Lettres* of President de Brosse, the notes of Caylus or Cochin are often more entertaining and useful than those of their English contemporaries. The most picturesque of these Frenchmen on their grand tour is probably Monsieur Bergeret de Grancourt, seigneur of Négrepelisse, "brave homme et gros personnage de belle humeur s'il n'est pas contredit et si on lui marque du respect," in other words a second generation *bourgeois gentilhomme*. Rich, with a great deal of taste (his collection of works of art was one of the important ones of the 18th century), he spent almost a year in Italy and, of course, wrote to his relatives in France letters which he hoped would be published. He was accompanied by Jeanne Verdier, who was evidently more to him than just the *femme de chambre* of the late Madame Bergeret, and Fragonard, who wanted to see again the Rome he had loved so much twenty years before. Bergeret's *Journal* has long been out of print. The present volume, including all the sections of the *Journal* which may be of interest to readers

of today, has been very carefully edited, with an excellent introduction and notes, by M. Jacques Wilhelm of the Carnavalet Museum. It should be useful to all students of French social life in the 18th century; for Fragonard scholars it is a necessary tool, partly for the well-chosen reproductions of Fragonard's *sépias* and *sanguines*, many of which are in private collections difficult of access.

A Catalogue of European Paintings. San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery, 1947.

It is not our purpose to give here the scholarly critical review this impressive catalogue merits, but rather to call attention to the wealth of material which may be found in the San Diego Fine Arts Gallery. The museum owns a number of Dutch, French and Italian paintings of good quality, including a puzzling portrait of an *Old Woman* which has been variously attributed to Millet and Géricault, and a charming *Still-Life* by Van der Ast; more interesting still and more important are the Giorgionesque Lotto *Landscape* and the "Terris" portrait given to Giorgione by an imposing group of experts. But it is principally for its Spanish paintings that the San Diego Gallery deserves to be better known. The pleasure one derives from museums far away from the East often comes from what we like to call "finds"; the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego is rich in such comparatively little-known works of the Spanish school. The attribution to Bermejo of an *Arrest of Santa Engracia* is convincing; the Sánchez Cotán *Still-Life* (published by M. W. Soria in *The Art Quarterly*) is a delightful work, while the life-size *St. Jerome* by Zurbarán, according to Soria one of the series of the *Ten Founders of Religious Orders*, is one of the important Spanish paintings in America. The catalogue itself is, with the two Metropolitan catalogues of paintings, the most complete and clearest of those published recently in America, and the description of every painting includes a paragraph on attribution which will prove extremely useful to scholars.

Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum, Vol. III, P.I. Baroda, 1947. 80 pp.

It has always been the aim of *The Art Quarterly* reviews to draw attention to unusual publications. This issue of the Baroda State Museum *Bulletin* is the first we have seen. It includes a number of articles by the curator of the museum, Mr. Goetz, two of which are of more than passing interest: "The Role of Gujarat in Indian Art" and "An Early Indo-Scythian Monument," a note on a little stela found near Baroda City. Another study by Mr. Goetz deals with some French tapestries owned by the Maharaja of Baroda, the most interesting of which apparently belongs to the pre-Gobelins period.

Arte Moderna Stranera, N.5: Daumier. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1948. 42 pp., illus.

The main interest presented by this booklet will not be found in its text, which at times is spoiled by the lyrical or whimpering overtones apparently de rigueur when writing on Daumier; nor in its forty-odd illustrations which in general reproduce only well known works. The bibliography, however, warrants the mention of this *Daumier* in *The Art Quarterly*: it is apparently the most complete and most useful yet published on the subject, for while the text itself is only seven pages long, eighteen pages are devoted to a list of some five hundred titles of books and articles.